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A NATIVE OF D'ONGOLA.

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JOURNAL

OF A VISIT TO SOME PARTS OF

ETHIOPIA.

BY

GEORGE WADDINGTON, ESQ.,

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;

AND THE

REV. BARNARD HANBURY,

OF JESUS COLLEGE, A.M., F.A.S.

WITH MAPS AND OTHER ENGRAVINGS.

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PREFACE.

Arriving at Venice in January, 1820, in my way to the East, I found there my friend, Mr. Barnard Hanbury, preparing for an antiquarian visit to Egypt and Nubia, and an attempt to penetrate as far as Dóngola: my own intentions were then limited to some months of wandering in Greece and Asia Minor; however, I entered gradually into the plans of my friend: and, after passing the spring, and most of the summer, in Greece, we arrived at Alexandria about the middle of August. We received there the confirmation of a report, which we had previously heard, that an expedition had left Cairo, whose object was the reduction of the countries above the Second Cataract. This seemed to present a fortunate opportunity of carrying into effect those designs, of which the success must

otherwise have been very uncertain; and we determined to follow the army. We mentioned our intention to Mahommed Ali Pasha, and, without giving us much encouragement, he, at least, offered no objection.

We were presented to him by our Consul, Mr. Peter Lee; a gentleman whose occupations as protector of the commerce of his country, do not prevent him from encouraging the pursuits, and assisting the exertions, of mere travellers: unassuming in manners, and free from all ostentation and parade of unmeaning professions, he has a pleasure in the exercise of that useful and real civility, which we experienced, in common with many others, and for which we are delighted to acknowledge our obligation.

We proceeded, without loss of time, to the Second Cataract; examining, in our way, the various objects of curiosity that are scattered along the banks of the Nile. We allowed ourselves one only delay; and it was to receive the hospitality of another Englishman: the name and character of Mr. Brine, of Rhadamone, is well known to all who have visited Egypt, and to

many who have not; for travellers recollect with gratitude, and talk with pleasure, of kindnesses received in a strange land. That gentleman entered into our plans with great warmth and interest; and finding that we had no Turk of our party, nor any recommendation to any officer in the Turkish army, he furnished us with a letter to the Second in Command, his former neighbour and friend: without which, our difficulties in reaching the army would have been considerably increased, and our reception there very uncertain. This was only one of many friendly offices, for which we are indebted to the generous spirit and English heart of Mr. Brine.

We arrived, in due time, at Wady Halfa; and there commenced, and there concluded, the journey, of which, the present "Journal" contains, perhaps, too full an account. Our previous, and our subsequent, travels were confined to countries already well described: but, above the Second Cataract, Burckhardt only had succeeded in following the Nile as far as Tinareh; of the countries beyond there, which our good fortune enabled us to examine, little was known

except from hearsay. Our curiosity had just before received an additional excitement, from some information obtained by us, of ancient ruins existing at a place called *Merawe:* we flattered ourselves with the hope of discovering there the remains of the capital of Ethiopia.

I have already mentioned, that the credit of the original plan of our expedition is entirely due to Mr. Hanbury. We kept separate journals during its continuance; and both have been consulted in the composition of this book. The lot of authorship has fallen only upon me; and I already feel that this is far from being an enviable distinction.

G. W.

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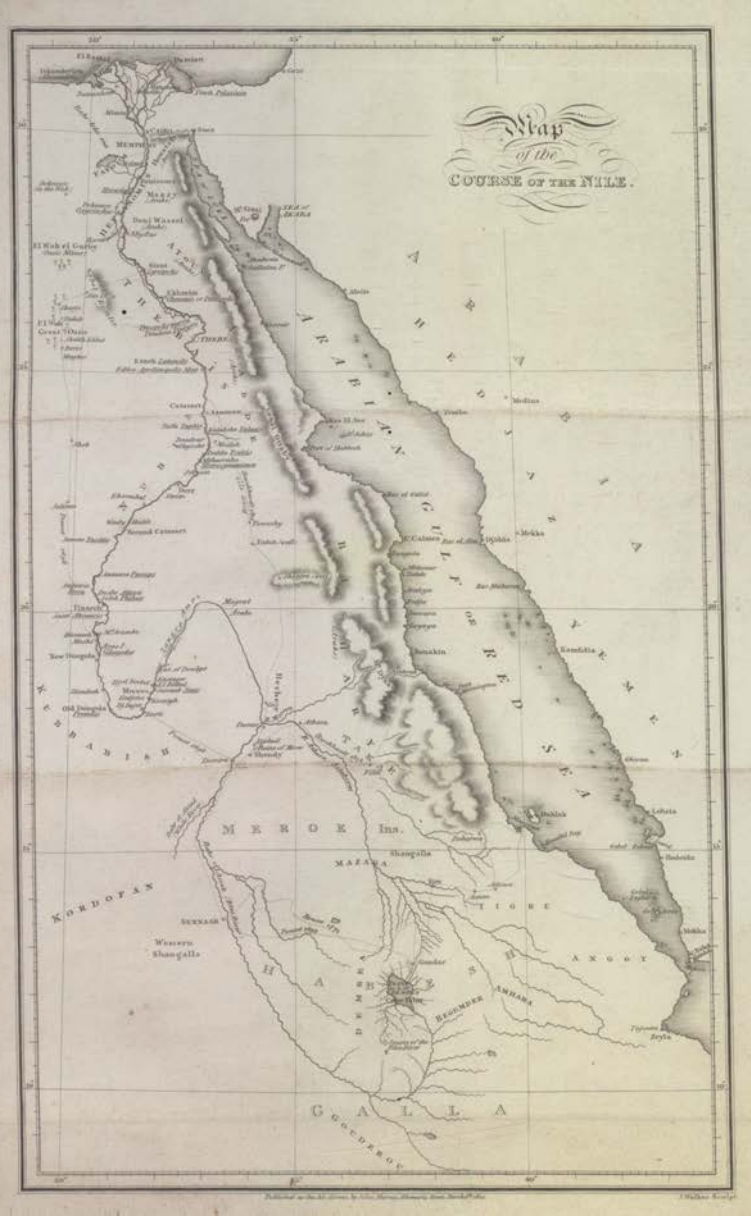
For the Frontispiece I am indebted to M. Linant, a French Artist, then resident in Cairo; that gentleman also improved (for I am a very bad draughtsman) two or three of the other drawings: I am obliged to a friend in England, for having reformed the rest.

ERRATUM.—Page 248, *Note*, line 3, *for* Romaic, *read* ancient Greek.


Map
of the
COURSE OF THE NILE.
ARABIAN GULF OR RED SEA
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KORDOFAN
Mecca
Medina
Jidda
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Sennaar
Berber
Dongola
Syene
Thebes
Memphis
Cairo
Alexandria

Map of the Nile
from
WADY HALFA to DERAWE,
By
George Wallington.

JOURNAL

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ETHIOPIA.

1820. Nov. 10. IN the morning early, Mr. Hanbury and myself arrived in our cangee at the Shoonah, or Turkish magazine, of Wady Halfa, and lost no time in landing to pay our respects to the officer commanding there. We presented our firmans to him, and informing him that we had letters for Abdin Cacheff, Governor of Dóngola*, requested him to forward us to the army. The "Aga of the Cataracts" answered with great civility, that, as in his orders to facilitate the advance of all who might require his assistance, there was no exception against Christians, he would provide six camels for us, (the number we wished,) by to-morrow morning. In reply to our inquiries about the length of the journey and the state of the country, he assures us that it is eight easy days, footspace, to Dóngola; that the country is rich and full of villages, and all kinds of provisions,

* Abdin will be well recollected as Cacheff of Minieh by all English travellers in Egypt, of whom none ever presented themselves to him without experiencing his hospitality.

horses, and camels; that we shall find, from time to time, shoonahs and ferries, the travelling being equally good on both sides of the river, and the country so fine that we shall, probably, choose to remain some time there. The dromedaries we take here are to carry us for three or four days, and then his brother Agas, who are to be advised of our approach, are to furnish us with fresh ones, as well as with all other articles of necessity or convenience that we may happen to require. We were a good deal surprised to hear all this, yet the authority seemed so good, and the account was so flattering, that we determined to believe above half of it, and accordingly packed up a number of books and other luxuries, and considered ourselves as about to set out on a party of pleasure. In the evening a Turkish nobleman, named Mahommed Effendi, arrived express in nineteen days from Cairo on his way also to the army. Some soldiers professing to be on their return from Dóngola, confirmed generally the account of the Aga, and brought the information that Ismael Pasha, with the main body of the army was five days in advance of Dóngola, but that we should find Abdin Cacheff resident there.

Nov. 11. A very trifling present satisfied the Aga's claims on our gratitude; on receiving a flask of English powder, a penknife, and a pair of razors, he protested that there were no three things of which he stood so much in need as those. Instead of the six camels promised, five only were produced; however, we were yet in too good spirits to quarrel with any

body; about ten o'clock we mounted and commenced our expedition, in search of the ruins of Meroe. Our party was not numerous; it consisted of ourselves; our dragoman; James Curtin, a young Irishman, who had been some time with Mr. Belzoni, and who is mentioned with praise in Mr. Legh's Account of the Journey to Wady Moosa; a Maltese, named Giovanni Fiamingo, who, besides other services, filled, when necessary, the honourable place of cook; and his Cousin Giuseppe, a fine lad of eighteen or nineteen, who served under us as a kind of volunteer. All three spoke Arabic so very well that we were sure, during the whole journey, of having a good interpreter always at hand; and in the first of them, a very general knowledge of modern languages was united with much tact in the management of the natives, much zeal and personal courage, and a strong spirit of adventure. A black slave belonging to the first physician of Ismael Pasha, and on his way to join his master, increased our number, which was completed by a young setter, brought with us from Alexandria, and whom we had duly named *Anubis*. We were escorted for a short distance by the crew of our cangee, which we left at Wady Halfa till our return. As we were one more in number than our camels, which were also loaded with our luggage, and as those sacred animals object under such circumstances to carrying double, James began the journey on foot, as he was fated to end it. After the terrible accounts of some travellers I was surprised with the ease of the camel's motion, and the facility afforded by his size for change of position, and

even repose. The shoonah we quitted is a little below what is called the Cataract, which is a succession of rapids, like that at Assouan; in three hours and a half we arrived at the one above it. We were less struck by the scenery* than we had been at the first Cataract; the rocks, though of the finest black granite, appeared neither so large nor so picturesque. This may be because we had in this case less opportunity of observing them closely, as our road, though never far from the Nile, and seldom out of sight of it, was yet never quite by the water-side. We saw several acacia, and a few doum trees, but palms only at the southern extremity.

On our arrival at the second shoonah we found Mahommed Effendi seated under an acacia at dinner. We were not a little surprised to be saluted by him in English, and invited in intelligible French to share his pillaw and mishmish. We sat on the same carpet with him, and when the officer in waiting would have brought a separate one for the infidels, Mahommed assured him that we were as great men as himself, and that we travelled for pleasure, and not by order of government; on hearing which, our Ababde camel-drivers, (as we were afterwards told), remarked very simply, that we took great pains for little profit; because, go where we might, we could see nothing but earth, stone, and water. Mahommed Effendi was in England for a few days, I believe on some political mission, at the time of the

* The scenery of the Cataracts has been well known since the time of Strabo, by whom it is accurately described.—Lib. 17, p. 818.

sailing of Lord Exmouth for Algiers; he had passed some months at Paris; he was very affable, and even polite; he professed some knowledge of mineralogy, and was anxious in his inquiries about ores, with a view, as usual, to the discovery of some rich mines. He told us that the Pasha once offered ten boats manned by his best soldiers, and armed with cannon to any one of his subjects who would undertake to discover the sources of the Nile, and that they answered him, "Of what *use* would it be?" and by this argument the most enlightened Turk in existence is represented to have been satisfied. This was bad encouragement to travellers and explorers who retained enough of their European prejudices to fancy that all knowledge is useful. While we were doing honour to the hospitality of Mahommed, he was himself attentively examining a distant sand-bank with his telescope, a very tolerable English one; at last he called for his gun, also made in London, and taking most deliberate aim fired point-blank at the trunk of a tree, which he mistook for a crocodile slumbering on the shore; the ball, as might have been expected, struck the water just half way; he repeated this operation several times with a rifle of ours, and precisely with the same effect, and as the supposed monster remained perfectly undisturbed, the telescope was again directed to the spot, and he at last became convinced of an error, which had been long evident to the unassisted eyes of the Arabs. It is well known, or generally believed, that at Philæ crocodiles are harmless; this is said not to be the case here, though the causes that are supposed sufficient

to produce that effect in the one instance, exist with exactly the same force in the other. A bank was shown to us, where three were to be seen every morning at a certain hour.

It is worth remarking, that though Mahommed's cangee is of the smallest size, his Reiss dared not attempt to pass it up the Cataract at this season, while many large and heavy boats of at least sixty feet by twelve or fourteen, had been got up earlier, and generally with perfect safety. I think it certain, that from the beginning of August to the middle of October, the largest cangees may go up *all* the Cataracts, as that of Wady Halfa becomes impassable some weeks before any of those above it.

We left the noble Express reposing under his acacia, and proceeded; in forty-five minutes we passed several small heaps of earth having the appearance of barrows which have been broken up, if they be not rather deposits brought down by the torrents from the mountains, and in one hour some islands, the largest of which is called Abdoum; the Wady beyond it has the same name. We met a party of Tekáyrne*, each with his staff and bowl; and near here Mahommed, with his servant and guide, on three light dromedaries, passed us, and pointing to some very mean mud ruins, exclaimed with an air of penetration, "Ici il y a été une très grande ville." He proceeded greatly satisfied with his remark, and we saw no more of him. In three hours we halted for the

* See Burckhardt, p. 44.

night, after travelling on the whole six hours and an half. As one of the party was always on foot, we made some trials of our rate of going, and decided (what subsequent experiments always confirmed) that a loaded camel's favourite pace is two miles and an half an hour.

Nov. 12. In two hours and forty minutes we got to Sctte Hadje, where we regaled ourselves with abundance of good milk. We passed in our way two or three uncultivated spots of rich soil, a proof that the government of Mahommed Ali is not yet so severely felt by the natives here, as by their brethren between the Cataracts. A little farther on the guides showed us the figure of an animal with a long curled tail, badly sculptured on a rock, perhaps the scherzo of some ingenious soldier; and in one hour and three quarters more we found ourselves under the shade of some fine trees opposite the island of Sáras in Wady Sáras; the granite continues, and the Nile, broken by the rocks into a number of violent little streams, preserves the scenery of the Cataracts. On the opposite western bank the sand comes nearly down to the water's edge. We met some people on asses, thirteen days from Dóngola. In two hours and a half from this place we saw an old Christian church on our right with arched door and windows; there were other mud ruins about, and an old castle on an island; in one hour more we entered the Akabet el Benat, or the Virgin's Pass, so named, as we were told, from its extreme beauty. The rocks are high and well broken, and often joined by sand

blown up to a great height between them. The sunset was red and fiery, the moon clouded, and the sky unusually disturbed; a strong, though mild, wind served to increase our enjoyment of the most English evening we had seen in the east. Thus we proceeded for two hours more, when my friend being tired and a little unwell, expressed a wish to stop for the night; and though too far from the river to have any hope of supper, we decided to sleep in the Pass. We dismounted in the middle of a large sandy plain, and the place chosen for our repose was a Burial Ground. We had no tent or any covering whatever; however the night was warm and dewless, and the sky agitated, but no longer threatening. The moon was just bright enough to discover indistinctly the surrounding rocks; the men and camels about us were soon as still as the dead who were under us, and I have pleasure in recollecting that alone awake among them, I would not at that moment have exchanged my unsheltered couch on the bare sands, for all that civilization could have offered me.

Nov. 13. In one hour, in direction S. W. by S., the general direction through the Pass, we descended to the Nile within hearing of a small Cataract, and in one hour and ten minutes more we reached Barr el Hadjar, "The Place or Road of Rocks." One of the islands here contains an old brick castle, as do all the largest along the whole extent of the Bata el Hadjar; they have been built, I have no doubt, by the natives merely as places of security for their property against

the incursions of robbers, and not as part of any plan of military fortification of the country; such castles are still found, as will be seen, in almost every village higher up the river. The road through the Pass, is in many places marked by small heaps of stones; they are placed at irregular intervals, but seem sufficient guides for an Arab or a Nubian. We then ascended again, by a very bad road, and in one hour and a half enjoyed from the top of the mountain the finest view I had yet had of the Nile; it was visible at a great distance southward, winding among the black and broken rocks. In four hours and a quarter from Barr el Hadjar we passed the Cataract of Ambigo; a great many ammunition-boats, some of them very large, were lying there waiting for a strong wind to carry them up the rapids. It was very hot; there were no villages nor palms, nor were any provisions to be procured; we saw only one or two mud buildings on the shore and the islands. The granite in Wady Ambigo is generally the red, and not the black, which has been hitherto more prevalent. In three hours and a half from here we reached Mattar el Hadjar, after passing, about half way, a large stone castle on our right; our direction was from S. to S.W. Near this place is the beginning of Wady Om Kanásher.

Nov. 14. In the course of the night our servants were disturbed by a visit from the Aga of the Cataracts, who had preceded us on horseback to prepare the way for us (as he said), but more probably for Mahommed Effendi. He was now on his return, and pleading a severe fit of the colic, requested

to be allowed to pay his respects to our small supply of spirits. After a draught in proportion to the pain he was supposed to have been suffering, he made a new bargain for us with our camel-drivers to take us to Sukkót, and left us to repose.

We set out in good time; in one hour and three quarters we heard a small Cataract, and in two hours passed that of Tangoor, where were eight or ten boats waiting, like those below, for a wind. Our direction was S.W. by W. and S.W. In three quarters of an hour more, we finished the descent of Dgebel Lamoule, and saw behind us the fine rocks that form the Shelál of Tangoor. It was exactly on this spot that poor Burckhardt relates his grave to have been so prophetically dug by the philosophical Bedouin *. We had hoped to have witnessed the same ceremony, though performed in devotion of ourselves; but our guides contented themselves with congratulating us on being saved from that perilous descent, and making a feeble attempt on our consequent generosity. In two hours and fifteen minutes more, after a fine ride on a bed of sand with high granite on each side, generally in direction S.W. by S., we came out nearly opposite Okme, where is a large brick building, and found the Nile running S.E. We were still nearly a mile from the river· we then rode due S. through a large plain, bounded on the left by some very picturesque mountains, to the point where the Nile and the mountains nearly meet again; there are some very fine trees near, which we reached

* Burckhardt's Travels in Nubia, p. 49.

in one hour from our entering the plain. The Nile here turns and runs S., and just above is one of the islands, marked in Burckhardt's map; we found the course of the river in some places a little different from what it is there represented. The thermometer was at 95°. with a good deal of wind. One hour from here is the village Acashe, insignificant in itself, but well situated at the foot of a high rock, a little resembling the Two Brothers near Smyrna; our direction was now rather to the E. of S.; here we bought a very small lamb, and in twenty-five minutes more stopped for the night under some fine acacias, close by the noisy cataract of Kolbe, where the Nile suddenly changes its course to W.S.W. We could get no kind of information about distances or time, and one man, in answer to some question, told us that his father had taught him nothing about hours, and that he was not acquainted with any divisions of time. We placed our beds as usual in the open air, and, as the wind blew extremely hard, were, long before morning, half buried in sand. By experience of one sleepless night, we learned for the future to select a spot sheltered by rocks, before we retired to rest in the desert.

Nov. 15. We entered a pass, and in one hour came down to the Nile, running S.W. We soon left it, and in twenty minutes more found it taking a short bend S.W. by W. In four hours, after a long ride among the mountains, still granite, during which we saw several burial places and no habitations, our direction on the whole S.W., though sometimes nearly W., we again came down to the river, running S.S.W., and saw a number of

boats sailing up. In four hours and a quarter we passed a mound similar to some already mentioned, and in four hours and a half we left the Batn el Hadjar, and entered Sukkót.

Here are several castled isles; one is large, and the castle of brick very perfect. The plain opens a little, and we saw some palms bearing dates which yet wanted two months of maturity; this is singular, as in September we found the dates ripe in Upper and even Lower Egypt, and in this country they had been in general long gathered; nor did it seem that these were of a different species. In four hours and forty-five minutes we reached the Turkish shoonah established there. Dal is the name of the place, and our direction thither S. by W., by the river side for the last forty-five minutes. We met some pilgrims in the course of the morning, who informed us that the Sheygy'a* Arabs were gathering to surround the Pasha's army; the Aga of the Shoonah, of course, tells quite a different story, and assures us that "wherever the troops have been it is safe to leave gold in the highways;" which we are contented to believe on his assertion. As there appeared, however, to be some uncertainty as to our always finding as many camels as we required, we put the heavier part of our luggage into Abdin Casheff's cangee, which, by great accident, was lying here; there were other boats which

* I have intended universally to adopt the orthography of Burckhardt, marking the accented syllables; this word is pronounced *Shy-gheé-a*; Dóngola is pronounced Doóngola; Sóleb, Sulleb; and when *ch* is substituted for *k*, as in Handech, and others, it has the sound nearly of the German *ch* or the Greek χ.

were to sail sooner than the cangee, but their officers declined all responsibility for our property on account of the frequent desertions, which they confessed they had no means of preventing. We gave some spirits privately to two soldiers, who hid themselves among the trees to drink them. The Bimbash, when invited also to refresh himself, retired with some dignity into his cabin, and took the bottle with him *. We passed two or three hours here very comfortably; those of the soldiers who were not markedly civil to us abstained at least from any thing like insult.

In one hour from the Shoonah we reached Djebel Mamah, to which the Nile has a S.S.E. direction, and then turns nearly S. again, winding a good deal. Of the mountains on the western bank, the southern side is generally quite whitened with sand, which is scattered much more thinly on the northern, proving the great prevalence or superior violence of the southerly winds. We fancied we could distinguish, at a great distance on the opposite shore, the remains of some extensive and gigantic buildings; they were nothing more, as we afterwards ascertained,

* We once saw a Turkish officer so drunk as to be actually sick in the room, and that too, the room of a Christian; his friends seemed, and no doubt were, sincerely ashamed of him, and made many apologies for his misconduct; they were sorry, of course, that such a violation of the laws of the Prophet should have been witnessed by infidels. There is a place in Cairo, where the soldiers meet, and drink opium to excess; while under its effects, they are said to sit swelling in silence, despising all the Pashas in the world; a happy moment for a Turk, but too dearly bought by the hours of stupidity that succeed it. It is said to be dangerous to approach, or to look at them in those moments.

than the broken rocks which assume these fantastic shapes in the evening sun. The country opens, and if cultivated (as Mahommed Ali has already ordered it to be,) would be accounted fine in any part of the world. Some detached and very picturesque mountains, that lie scattered on both sides of the river, of different forms, and at different distances, (of which, a conical one, named Kitfúkko, is the most striking,) were coloured by as beautiful a sunset as I ever beheld. In one hour and a half we passed the five Barrows, noticed by Burckhardt, and dismounted at the Sheik's house at Ferket. Our guides usually walked barefoot, carrying their sandals in their hands, and the heel of one of them being cracked in several places, his companions sewed it up by pricking holes in the skin with an acacia thorn, and then passing the thread through them; a tedious and painful operation, which the patient bore extremely well. They all appeared good-natured and well-disposed, and besides exerting great civility to us, had a very affectionate manner to each other; they often walked together hand in hand, and were never heard to dispute.

Nov. 16. At this place our engagement with our camel-drivers expired; and, according to the Aga's promises, we were to find others readily. The sheik of this village had, on our arrival last night, certainly given us no such hopes; we were awaked this morning with the unwelcome assurance that there was not a single camel to be procured by any means in the town or neighbourhood. We began to consider how far we should be

justified in taking forward two of the animals that had conveyed us so well hither, though they were the Pasha's, and always employed in his service; and while we were gravely engaged in deliberating on this very important point, we were informed that our honest guides, perhaps anticipating such a measure on our part, had taken advantage of the fair moonlight, to decamp with their sacred charge. After laughing as well as we could at this first disappointment, we proceeded to attach our luggage to the backs of a number of asses, who were successively brought up for that purpose. The breed here is remarkably bad; and as some began by falling perpendicularly under the weights imposed upon them, and others staggered home to their stalls with what they could carry, it was long before the whole cavalcade could be collected and put in motion: they then, above a dozen in number, quietly dispersed themselves about the country in search of food, and it was with some difficulty that they were at last driven into the kind of road we were fated to follow; we then commenced a kind of straggling march, and very soon had recourse to our feet, as a much easier method of travelling. In an hour and a half, direction south, we got to the large island Ferket; and in half an hour more (S. by W.) to Mográt.

Here our prospects brighten a little; a camel is discovered among the palms and soon afterwards another, and a man, with a woman and child near it; he proves to be an Ababde Arab, named Achmet, going down, with his wife and infant, to buy dates; we of course invite him very warmly to enter into our

service, to which he as strongly objects: and on being more urgently pressed, he asks with great feeling, "And will you oblige me to leave my wife and child in the hands of strangers?" now his wife was a very pretty woman, and was watching this scene with great interest, though in silence. The case was certainly a hard one, and perhaps we were decided by the sight of one of our asses, at that moment down on the ground, struggling with his burden: however, we were decided; we justified ourselves by the tyrant's plea, and immediately proceeded to transfer part of our property to the more dignified situation it was once more destined to occupy. The man intrusted his family to a fellow countryman, an inhabitant of the village, and proceeded reluctantly with us.

We passed many of those Nubian burial grounds, described by Burckhardt, where a palm-branch is placed at the foot of the grave, and a water-jar at the head; Giovanni, who was very far from being a man of enterprise or curiosity, and, as he was somewhat incredulous on matters of faith, could tolerate no superstitions, however beautiful, remarked to me with sincere indignation on passing one of these tombs; "E mettono anche acqua per bevere; quanto sono bestie!" The enlightened Maltese treated the ignorance of the natives as a sin, and always mixed a great deal of anger with his contempt for them. Many of the villages here are inhabited by Arabs, who wear a white cap, like the Fellahs of Egypt, and not the long, full, buttered hair of the Nubians.

In one hour and forty-five minutes from Mogràt, we arrived at Ghimmish; our direction was S.W. by S. or S.S.W., the plain open and cultivable; and, in one hour more, by the bank of the Nile, W. by S., we observed a considerable island with brick ruins, visible on its S.W. extremity; the second hour our direction was W.S.W., and latterly due W. to Aamára; and in two hours and forty minutes we arrived at the temple, situated five or six hundred yards from the river.

These remains, at first sight, are more like those of a Grecian than of an Egyptian temple, as nothing is visible but the ruins of two rows of pillars, standing E. and W., the course of the river here. There have been four pillars in each row of about four feet in diameter, but not one is entire, and there are only six of which any part remains; the whole is raised on a brick foundation elevated and separate. The two rows are ten feet apart; and twenty feet to the S., of the second row is the base and part of one other pillar, proving that there have been four rows, or a square of sixteen pillars. The five most perfect measure about twelve feet from the base, and holes have been cut in the top of all for the reception of a roof, but of course much later than the erection of the temple, and perhaps with the intention of turning it into a Greek church; the tops of all the columns are evidently broken off. We observed no other stone remains, except the fragment of a small granite pillar; it is impossible to trace even the foundation of any stone wall, and it is difficult to conceive where the rest of the temple could have

stood; I suspect the walls have been of brick or mud, and the pillars only of stone, as is the case in a small temple on the west bank a little below Wady Halfa *. The figures on the pillars are about three feet high and quite Egyptian; that of the ram-headed Ammon is most conspicuous, but they are not of a good age and very much defaced; there are some slight remains of the colouring, and we observed the spaces left as if for inscriptions, mentioned by Burckhardt. There is an appearance of a brick wall having once encompassed a very large building, of which this may have been a part; the elevation on which it stands is only just large enough for the four rows of pillars that have stood upon it. I should perhaps have done better to spare this long description of a very uninteresting ruin of which Burckhardt † has already given so accurate an account.

The country becomes more like Egypt; the dogs begin to be noisy, and the musquitoes so very active that I was glad to take refuge under my gauze net again. We had to-night the first specimen of the bitter pancake-bread of the country, so often described; it was brought to us in a large bowl, at the bottom of which was a quantity of sour milk; sometimes they pour upon the bread a kind of mess of herbs, which is more tolerable than the milk; when we were lucky or importunate enough to procure a little fresh milk we had learnt already how to value the luxury.

* Opposite to Sukkoy; Burckhardt passed these ruins in the dark, and his description of them is consequently imperfect.

† Travels in Nubia, p. 54.

Nov. 17. Without any disrespect to the two camels, of which we had obtained possession by measures whose necessity we lamented, but which turned out to be excellent beasts, we were still very ill supplied with conveyance for six persons and a large quantity of luggage. A number of asses were yet retained in our service, who were constantly falling with their loads and breaking all that was frangible. We were not sorry therefore, after riding or walking over a large stony place for one hour and forty-five minutes, (direction S.S.W.) to observe a herd of camels feeding near us; they belonged to the army, and were going down from Dóngola for provisions, so that we felt obliged to leave them untouched. On arriving, however, at a large village close by, we thought it might be expedient to spread a report (which we had once before found of great utility to us in Nubia,) that the head of our party was the physician of Ismael Pasha, on his way to join his Highness, and Mr. Hanbury undertook to support that character, as by his beard and Turkish dress, and other important requisites, he was well qualified. He had hardly time to seat himself under a tree and collect his dignity, before the Sheik * with half his tribe, made him a formal visit, bringing down a present of bread and meat. They smoked two or three

* This was no less a man than Hassan Casheff of Derr, who told us that the sword he then wore, was given him by an Englishman, who received a slave in return for it, meaning Mr. Legh. He was then a man of great importance, but, like the other petty tyrants of this country, is now so reduced by Mahommed Ali, that after his visit, he sent to beg a little tobacco of us; our stock was extremely small, and we refused it without fear of his anger.

pipes together, and the visitor retired with many expressions of respect, but without making any useful offer. While we were pursuing a very large snipe, which I started out of an old well by accidentally throwing a stone there, our servants were much better employed. After a short absence we observed them returning with a very fine camel of which, it appeared, they had not become possessed without difficulty. They had hailed its master, who continued to make off so rapidly on his "ship of the desert*," that James found it necessary to bring him to, by firing a rifle-shot over his head; his friends however collected, to the number of twelve or fourteen, armed with swords and large sticks to assist him; James reloaded and cocked his gun, and no doubt great deeds would have ensued, had not Giovanni drawn out from under his jacket a pair of brass, bell-mouthed, blunderbuss pistols, loaded to the very mouth; at the sight of these, the Arabs took off in all directions and disappeared among the trees; the beast naturally fell into the hands of the victors.

In forty minutes we came to another village, where we had been informed there was a ferry across the river; we were extremely anxious to pass over to the island of Say, where we had hopes of discovering some important antiquities. We found no ford or ferry-boat whatever, and our camel drivers here formally renewed their remonstrances, and showed the strongest desire to leave us; we produced to them the firman of the Pasha, and some terrible

* This term is sometimes applied to camels by the Bedouins.

threats were uttered in his name, which produced no other effect, than a quiet repetition of their reasons for wishing to dispense with the honour of conveying us. Before proceeding to extremities, we determined to try the effect of a Spanish dollar; Charles IIII succeeds, when Mahommed Ali had failed, and having once touched the money, they got over all their difculties, and we started again with great spirit. That there might be no more misunderstandings, we agreed to pay every morning for the preceding day, at the rate of half a dollar a camel, the highest price they demanded, and less by one half than our honest friend the Aga of the Cataracts, had exacted from us, for the beasts with which he was so kind as to furnish us. We proceeded for two hours and fifteen minutes over a stony plain, in direction S.S.E., by the river side, which then turns for a short distance, nearly S.S.W. We observed some considerable brick ruins toward the N.E. side of the island of Say, and a large hill about the middle. In two hours and forty five minutes, we came out of the plain, into some palms, at a village named Koeyk, after meeting two dromedaries, four days from Dóngola; the day was very hot, the asses continued to fall, and our men, though still in excellent spirits, began evidently to be a little knocked up. In an hour and a half more, travelling always by the river side in a broad uncultivated plain, but capable of cultivation, we passed Dgebel Aboute, about a mile to our left, (our direction nearly south,) and soon afterwards arrived at a village of the same name, where we were excellently received. We had found

of late great difficulty in obtaining provisions; fowls were abundant, but as the people refused to sell them, we had been obliged to adopt the strong measure of shooting them first, and then paying for them; when once dead their owners had no objection whatever to part with them; the dates are extremely fine here, and measure commonly about three inches in length. The inhabitants seemed glad that the Pasha had taken the country into his own hands, as they can now go about in safety, and have only one tyrant, and one robber, instead of their numerous Casheffs, who left them but just enough to tempt the rapacity of the Sheygy'a. I passed the night in the open air, undressed, and covered by one sheet only.

Nov. 18. Our first hour was over a stony plain by the river side, in direction S.S.W., or S.W. by S., and then its course gradually changes, and our path became S. and even S.S.E. to Irau, where we arrived in three hours and forty-five minutes. Here the course of the Nile is for some distance to the W. of S. The acacias are much finer than in Egypt, the plain is very extensive and in some places not bounded by any visible mountains; we passed some ruined houses. Above Dal the stream has rarely been interrupted by rocks. While we were at breakfast, the Sheik of the village came down with most of his subjects to welcome us. The manner of salutation among these people to each other is affectionate, and at the same time graceful; they seem not to consider it as a mere ceremony; and if they are not very good friends they are, at least, excellent hypocrites. I was

present yesterday when our guides met some of their countrymen on the road; the salutation * was very long and consisted of a number of short sentences, apparently question and answer; they then proceeded to inquire after each other's affairs. These people had heard of the *Ingliz*, and even inquired, on learning that we were Christians, whether we were not English, though of course the only ones they had ever seen. The Chief had heard of Mr. Bankes's attempt to reach Say, and said that he got nearly opposite to that island, but was prevented from proceeding by want of camels. We showed them our arms; the Sheik was most delighted by the secrecy of a sword-stick, and exclaimed with rapture, "now at last we begin to see the world;" they are Nubians, but almost all speak Arabic. Mr. Hanbury supported his medical character by applying remedies to their eyes, and succeeded in putting them to a great deal of pain; a kind of ophthalmia is very prevalent here, though not, I believe, the same as the Egyptian, but probably of a much milder nature, as, though many had sore eyes, we did not observe one instance of blindness. They tell us of "mountains of ears" sent down by Ismael Pasha to Cairo; the army appears to have met with no resistance whatever, except from the Sheygy'a, but they are said notwithstanding, to have disarmed all the villages in their march. We invited the Sheik to partake of our tea, and though evidently much astonished by the taste, he affected not to dislike it. Our guides

* I have observed it sometimes begin by an embrace, which consists in each party placing his right arm on the left shoulder of the other.

believed it to be a medicine, from its colour. Here we had the fortune to obtain two horses, and some additional camels; we set out again in excellent spirits, and after travelling for one hour in direction S. by E. nearly, we crossed a large plain, in direction S.E. by S., and in two hours and fifteen minutes came down to the Nile, running S.E., a little above Waony. Soon afterwards we saw the pillars of the temple of Terbe or Soleb, standing proudly on the opposite bank; the sun, which was at that moment setting behind it, increased the height and grandeur of the columns, whose dark lines were clearly defined against a sky glowing with the colours of evening. In three hours and thirty minutes we crossed some rocks, where the mountains come down to the Nile, and in four hours reached the village of Ireek. Most of the land is rich though but little cultivated.

We left the district of Sukkót, and passed the frontiers of Dar Mahâss, about an hour before we arrived opposite to Soleb.

In one hour, (S. by W.) by the river-side and very near the mountains, we arrived at Koye, just above which village the Nile changes its conrse to E. by N., or E.N.E.; or, accurately speaking, to the opposite points to these; but in going up the river, I use the *course of the Nile*, to mean the direction that we pursued on its banks.

Thus far we followed the steps of Burckhardt, with his book in our hands: and it is impossible to take leave of him without expressing our admiration for his character, and our gratitude for the instruction he has afforded us. His acquired qualifica-

tions were, I believe, never equalled by those of any other traveller; his natural ones appear to me even more extraordinary. Courage to seek danger, and calmness to confront it, are not uncommon qualities; but it is difficult to court poverty, and to endure insult. Hardships, exertions, and privations of all kinds are easy to a man in the enjoyment of health and vigour; but, during repeated attacks of a dangerous disease, which he might have considered as so many warnings to escape from his fate, that he should never have allowed his thoughts to wander homewards—that, when sickening among the sands and winds of the desert, he should never have sighed for the freshness of his native mountains—this does, indeed, prove an ardour in the good cause in which he was engaged, and a resolution, if necessary, to perish in it, that make his character very uncommon, and fate most lamentable; and perhaps none are so capable of estimating his character, as surely none can more sincerely lament his fate, than those who can bear testimony to the truth of his information; who have trod the country that he has so well described, and gleaned the fields where he has reaped so ample a harvest.

The distant view we obtained yesterday of the pillars of Soleb naturally renewed all our anxiety to cross the river. We found, however, on inquiry, that there was no ferry, and that our only chance was to prevail upon the Reiss of some provision boat, of which many were lying near, to carry us over the river. After one hour's ride from Koye, we overtook one such boat, full of soldiers, and James was desired to enter into conversation

with them. To his first civil question of "How long have you been here?" he received, after some interval, the sulky answer, "Too long;" and, as all his other advances met with similar returns, we thought it needless to come to the main point at all, and proceeded with the silent conviction, that we were not destined now, or perhaps ever, to examine the magnificent ruin that stood so near us. As our curiosity had been unusually excited by the uncertainty of what sculptures might adorn the walls of this yet unexplored building, or what inscriptions might illustrate the history of the enlightened men who erected it, so was our regret in leaving it increased by the vicinity of the object that we were unable to examine; it was painful to be forbidden to raise the veil, when the hand was touching it.

In half an hour more we left the Nile, and entered a valley between granite rocks, about a quarter of a mile broad, covered with withered vegetation; our direction through it was S.E. and E.S.E., and in four hours from our departure in the morning, we entered the plains again, and found the Nile running East, or E. by S. By going through this pass, instead of following the bank, we lost a near view of the opposite Castle of Tinareh, where the Nile from a distance appeared to be unusually narrow. Soon after coming out of the pass we stopped at a few houses named Said Effendi. Here we learnt that we should find no ferry-boat before we arrived at Koke, which is a long day's journey from this place. We were extremely mortified by this information; and it was not till after a very tolerable breakfast

that we could collect calmness enough to attend to the patients who presented themselves to us. Among the rest was a boy with a complaint in his arm which was eating the bone away, so that his life could, probably, only have been saved by amputation. I mention this as one instance of a complaint which was frequently observed by us in this country. They use senna here only as a dye, and seem quite ignorant of the medicinal use of herbs, nor have they any drugs whatsoever—hence naturally proceeds the great fear they have of sickness, which has given rise to a calumny against the Ababde Arabs, that no one of them is ever to be believed, except when he swears by his health.

The course of the river, from Tinareh to Said Effendi, is E.N.E.; it there changes to E.S.E. In twenty minutes we crossed a mountain, and in twenty more came down to a narrow plain, irrigated by a sakie; the Nile here runs East and West. In twenty minutes more it turns to S.E. by S. for a short distance, and then takes a S.E. or S.S.E. direction; in fifteen minutes more we left the river, and passed a small burial-ground and some large heaps of earth, like some that have been already described. For one hour and forty minutes we went through a winding pass, among schist rocks, called Absuant, or "the Father of Acacias," though it contains, from beginning to end, no one sprout of vegetation; our direction through it was at first S.E., and then E.S.E. We found the Nile running S.E., and in one hour and forty-five minutes we came to a sakie, with some cultivated ground about, called Absári. A small island, broad and rocky, of the same name,

lies just below, when the course of the river is nearly E.; here it turns, and runs for a short distance S. by E.: there is no cataract near, though the stream is frequently broken by rocks and small islands.

Until the arrival of the news that the Turkish army had actually left Cairo, these mountains were so haunted by the Sheygy'a and Bisharein Arabs, as to be almost impassable. We found there only a covey of long-winged partridges, and a number of chamæleons. Achmet, the Ababde, whom we first forced into our service, turned out a very honest fellow, and gradually became better reconciled to his fate; he had traversed, like most of his countrymen, the banks of the Nile, as far as Sennaar, and related to us, with much interest, the wonders we should find in the island of Argo and at Mérawe—"There are men standing there, who were turned to stone for hiding their treasures during the seven years' famine—one is cracked, which was, no doubt, a punishment inflicted on him by God before he changed him to stone." Their colossal size only confirms him in the idea that they were Pagans; who, from their gigantic works here, as in Greece, have very naturally obtained the credit of being giants*.

There are some considerable hills across the Nile, at a distance, but the rock generally comes down to the water's edge

* I was assured at Ithaca, that the enormous stones of the Cyclopean wall at Aetos, were carried up by the women on their heads; which I would more readily believe of the Ithakesians than of any race of women existing, as I have actually seen them carry astonishing weights in that manner.

on both sides; here are a few acacias. We received at Absári some alarming information from above; we were assured by an Arab, that moment arrived from the spot, that the Sheygy'a, headed by a girl, had sent a formal challenge to Ismael Pasha to fight them, and that, after a severe engagement, no advantage had been gained on either side—that messengers were constantly going down to hasten the reinforcements—that Abdin Casheff had left Dóngola, and advanced with the Pasha, and that the whole country was in confusion. It was added that some Sheygy'a have been lately surprised in that neighbourhood. Though we believed much less of these terrible rumours than we might, as it proved, very safely have done, we examined and re-loaded* our arms, which were nearly all damaged, and proceeded very desperate.

In half an hour we left the Nile for another half-hour, and in forty minutes more, travelling very near the water-side, we halted at a sakie, called Wady Hadji Nooat, or the Valley of the Just Light. It is inhabited by Gellabs, as is the large village of Kooma opposite. The last hour and three-quarters was performed chiefly by moonlight, in a southerly direction. At sunset, we passed a man at his prayers, making his prostrations, alone, in the desert; he was looking towards Mecca; the moon had just risen over it, and an ignorant spectator might have fancied that the adorations were addressed to her. Mahometans are

* On seeing three balls put into one of the guns, a native exclaimed, in astonishment, "Allah! Allah!—toscah, toscah!" "Oh, God! Oh, God!—three, three!"

accused of making a parade of worship: this is more true of Catholics, all whose devotions are performed in public; frequent genuflexions are not more ridiculous than frequent crossings; and if we are to reduce religion to a ceremony, is there not something more natural, and more affecting, in this solitary discharge of duty, on the sand and among the rocks, than in the chauntings of hired choristers, and the waving of candles at noon-day?

Nov. 20. In forty-five minutes we entered the pass of Hassenate, which is sometimes quite open to the left, and is in no place far from the Nile: the rocks are slate-stone. In one hour and fifteen minutes more, we came out opposite to a large village, named Gourgote, inhabited by Gellabs. On the other side of the river, a little beyond, the western chain ends in a fine mountain; the plains open, and are in some places unbounded; there are some fine palms and acacias, and the cultivation seems about a quarter of a mile broad. The small village Goorti lies on the shore on our side; the plain is narrow, with some large lumps of quartz scattered over it, and the cultivation variable from one hundred to three hundred yards. In one hour more we reached a detached hill, opposite to which is one on the other side named Sasef, with a large ruined village on the top. The country here opens on this, as on the western side, and there are many separate mountains, as in Sukkót. We soon afterwards passed Délligo, a large village, chiefly hid among the trees. Thus far the Nile runs N. and S.; here it changes its

course to S.S.E. nearly; just above Sasef, begins the island Galláshi, and continues for half an hour; it is succeeded by a smaller, named Dagbóde. In three hours and a half from Wady Hadji Nooat, we arrived at a fine village called Agétterib; on the left of our road, and close by it, is a mountain, at the foot of which stands a ruined village, with the remains of a wall round it. In twenty minutes more we came to Mishirfa, where we made an indifferent meal on some very bad dates and bread; the natives, who were less delicate, regaled themselves with an Ethiopian hawk, which Mr. Hanbury had just shot flying, to their eternal astonishment. In twenty-five minutes more we passed a ruined village, at the water's edge, where some rocks touch the Nile, and which, like the last, has been very considerable, and is situated in a strong and barren place. There are four saints' tombs, of mud, a little beyond. This spot is very dreary; and a vulture was sitting there, with two ravens near him. Here the Nile turns a little, and for half an hour runs nearly S., and then S.S.W.; there are the ruins of a brick-building near the turn. In one hour and thirty minutes we saw some Turkish tents, at Koke, on the opposite bank, the sight of whose continued greenness made us more sensible to the burning sands, we had latterly been traversing. In half an hour more we came to the ferry, and soon afterwards sought shelter, under a few acacias, from one of the hottest suns I ever felt. My fellow-traveller here undressed, for the first

time for ten days; we bathed in the river, and drank, with extreme pleasure, a great quantity of pure tea.

We were thus employed, when our interference was rather singularly called for. This morning, before we set off, our honest Ababde was robbed of five dollars that we had paid him; he saw the theft committed, but dared not at the time accuse the offender; however, during the journey, he privately informed James of the whole matter; not with a view of recovering the money, but only anxious to be permitted to leave us under any circumstances; "for I think it (says he) a bad omen, and that my journey will not prosper." Such little facts go far to illustrate the history of the mind of the Arabs of the Desert, their associations and their feelings, their simplicity and their superstition. It may be recollected, that one of our party was a negro in the service of the Pasha's physician: this man was accused by Achmet of the theft, and his violent and ferocious character left us no room to doubt the charge; however, we collected the whole party, and making a show of searching all equally, found the money upon him. Giovanni was so indignant that "a man who had been treated by him like a brother," should have been guilty of such an act, that he instantly struck him several severe blows, and but for our interference, would have driven him into the river. We determined, that we might be more securely rid of his society, to consign him to the Turkish Aga at Koke, and with that

intention, sent him down to the boat, which was lying just below us. Presently we heard a hue and cry from that direction, and saw people in rapid motion towards the desert: it appears that the black, when conducted to the water's edge, instead of stepping into the boat, as was expected of him, suddenly started off in the opposite direction, with all the sailors at his heels. We left things in that situation, and proceeded on our journey.

In one hour by the Nile side, (S.S.W.) we saw the village of El Dane, and the boats waiting above, at the cataract, for wind. In one hour and fifteen minutes we went through a short pass, where the mountain comes down to the water-side. A ruined village is on the top of the rock just over the river. In half an hour more we came to a town named Sooba, just above the cataract. Our general direction, like that of the Nile, which makes a bend westward at the Shelál, was S.S.W. The cataract is of the same nature as all those below, and is not perceptible when the inundation is the highest. The passage is on the western side; there was a broken boat lying near the eastern bank.

Nov. 21. In forty-five minutes we came to a sandstone rock, at the water's edge; direction S.S.W. by W., and sometimes even S.W.; our road was about half a mile from the river. Here are many sakies, and the width and the cultivation averages from six hundred to eight hundred yards. There are houses all along the bank, and the place is called Farreit. In two hours

we passed some saints' tombs. Here the mountains on the other side are larger and more united, and extend almost to the water's edge. Soon afterwards a covey of partridges lighted by me, of which I killed a brace, a cock and a hen; they were different from any we had ever seen, having the long wings and flight of the Egyptian partridge, and being in colour and size like the Nubian: we have preserved the skin of one of them. The ground by the road-side is full of large holes, whose object or utility it is not easy to discover. In two hours and forty minutes we passed a large and strong castle, though the stones that compose it are very small; nearly all the principal houses are built like fortifications in this part of the country, but universally of mud. In three hours we reached two rocks, called Naour, or Naoury, which resemble, at a distance, those at Corfú, or even more strongly, those at Caritena, in the Morea. They stand S.W. and N.E. The N.E. one is conical, though very rugged; the other like a cone, with the top broken off obliquely. An old tower stands at the bottom of it, and extends along the side; a ruined wall runs up, and is not unlike the Cyclopean remains of Greece, except in the meanness of its materials: there the Nile encloses a very large island, and while the principal stream branches off to the northward of W., our course changed to the W.S.W. In three hours and a quarter we observed some black granite rocks again: and, in three hours and forty-five minutes, still in the same direction, arrived at a small village. There is an islet opposite, which, like the village, is called

Berghe. There is here one doum tree, the first we had seen for some days.

The houses in this country are of two kinds: the largest, as just described, are of mud, built like fortresses, and for that purpose. The commonest are low cottages, eight or ten feet high, of straw, strengthened with palm branches*; the whole being kept together with string made also of the palm; acacia branches support, and generally rise much above, the roof, which is flat, and of palm leaves. At each corner is the dry stem of a palm, to which the walls are united, and which assists in supporting them; and one generally runs across the top to sustain the roof. The men wear the round Nubian hair; the women are generally naked, except a covering round their waist; they are chiefly Nubians, interspersed with some Ababdes. Matted work was becoming rather more plentiful; we saw more people employed in weaving, the only improvement which marked our approach to the capital. In this, as in most of the other villages, is a hut with a large jar of water in it, by the road-side, for travellers. When there are no houses, this jar is generally placed under a fine tree. The houses in the old towns are often of mud and stones mixed; by the description given us by our guides of such stone ruins, we were sometimes deceived into the hopes of finding an ancient temple.

* Strabo, lib. 17, page 922. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς πολέσιν αἱ οἰκήσεις ἐκ Φοινικικῶν σχιζῶν διαπλεκόμεναι τοίχων ἢ πλίνθων. He is speaking of the houses of the ancient Ethiopians.

In one hour (W.S.W.) we passed an old building on a hill on our right, and in ten minutes more entered the vale of Farjar, where the course of the river is N.W. This is the most romantic little spot I ever saw in the east; it is a green and cultivated valley, less than a quarter of a mile long, and not two hundred yards broad, closely shut in on the left by the high granite rocks, and on the right by a narrow branch of the Nile, which separates it from the barren island of Berghe, and overlooked on the N.E. by the old ruins; and thus it flourishes in freshness and fertility in the bosom of the wildest waste; the doves were in the palm-trees, and the naked inhabitants moving about, and offering us their little civilities. Here we turned off rather to the left, and in one hour and twenty minutes entered the grand Akabet of Kasma el Ḳlma, or "the Pass of the Water's Mouth." Near the entrance, on the right, two immense stones, as regular as if art had hewn and placed them there, stand up most sublimely detached from any others, and reminded me, though they are five hundred times as large, of some stones, hanging rather similarly, in the ancient wall at Ithaca. The pass then opens with extraordinary grandeur, and we saw before us other piles of rock, hardly less wonderful than those we had left behind.

In the presence of these enormous masses, irregularly scattered about in solitude, and while treading a spot thus peculiarly marked by the hand of its Creator, we felt ourselves in a holy place, and seemed walking among the columns of a mighty

temple, erected by the Divinity in his own honour, and for his own worship.

In two hours we passed a stone with some crosses and the figure of a warrior on it; some Christian may have died there; a small plain succeeded, apparently of decomposed granite. We observed a vast many light-coloured lizards, which the Arabs call dragons, and generally kill; they are venomous, run very fast, and seem to prey on beetles; we saw the traces of wolves, gazelles, partridges, and the naked feet of men. Our direction was first W., then W.N.W., and then W.S.W. A large mountain, called Fogo, was a good object in front. There is a great deal of agate and fine quartz, and every variety of granite. In three hours and a half we passed Mount Fogo, which is on the other side of the river, and very near it. We then went through another short pass into a plain, covered with acacia bushes, and in four hours and forty minutes came down to a village, called Sardák, and entered, for the night, into a kind of three-sided court, formed by matted cottages. The people, as usual, refused to sell us provisions; "Are there no sheep?" "None;" and one bleats at the instant. There was a large mud fortress close by, where the women were said to be shut up. For the last two hours and a quarter our general direction was S.S.W.

There is nothing at Assouan, Wady Halfa, or in the Batn el Hadjar, at all comparable to the "Pass of the Water's Mouth," either in grandeur or in variety of scenery: the immense masses of rock piled up together, the open plains scat-

tered over with fragments, the entire want of all vegetation, and yet the traces of so many animals; the occasional view of the distant palms straggling by the river-side, and of the boundless desert beyond it, with the knowledge that man has no power here to change the face of nature, which ever has been, and ever must be what it is; these circumstances unite to give this place an interest possessed by no other that I ever saw, and to us, perhaps, heightened by the reflection, that we were the first Englishmen who had ever seen it, as we might possibly be the last*.

Nov. 22. For one hour our course by the banks of the Nile was E.S.E.; it then changed to E.; and then to S.E. We saw many small green islands, and one larger, named Zimmit; another is afterwards formed between it and the shore, of about two miles in length; the deep water is on the other side, and we saw the white sails of the boats above a mile distant from the eastern bank. Our road was over broad plains, covered with cornelians; we saw some gazelles, who escaped at our approach. For the next hour and a half, the course of the river is, with little variation, S.S.E.; it then becomes due S., and, in three hours and a half from Sardák, we entered the kingdom of Dóngola.

Mount Arambo †, a large solitary hill, about four miles

* There are two passes beginning from the Vale of Farjar, of which we took the shortest; the other is of eight hours, going, of course, farther from the Nile, and coming out near the frontiers of Dóngola.

† That is, *Mount Chamæleon*, so called, possibly, from its being *many* coloured, as it is in a very singular degree; but if it shall be required, that, to deserve its name, it should frequently *change* its colours, I can only say, that I know no mountain that does not.

from the Nile, has marked the frontiers from time immemorial. Five palm trees, standing together by the river-side, were pointed out to us by the natives, as having long had a share in that office, and are venerated accordingly. We passed the limits at ten o'clock precisely; in ten minutes, we came to the rough island of Túmbos, which forms a considerable cataract; and, in a quarter of an hour more, to a large rock of granite, containing two hieroglyphical inscriptions: one of these faces the N.W., and the other the S.W. (our direction having lately been S.E. and S.E. by E.) The former is two feet four inches broad, and three feet high; it represents a man, with the hair worn by the Briareus of the Egyptian and Nubian temples, making an offering; and in the lower corner, on the left, are two prisoners, back to back, with their arms chained together; there are hieroglyphics round, and in other parts of it. The other is a hieroglyphical inscription of eighteen lines, with the ball and serpent at the top, and so defaced, as to have made us despair of being able to copy it accurately under our present, or perhaps under any, circumstances. The smaller one I copied, though I traced it more by the finger than the eye. The larger is seven feet wide, and eight feet two inches high. For the former, the face of the stone has been smoothed and cut in a little, and it is, therefore, of a lighter colour than the rest of the rock; the other is not so, and therefore the writing is more defaced: it may also be much older. The rock is called the Golden Stone, and the natives suppose the inscriptions to mean

that the empire of Egypt, under the Sublime Porte, formerly extended thus far: the more perfect of them may possibly be one of the memorials of Sesostris *.

A quarter of an hour from this place brought us to the end of the island of Tumbos, where is a large perfect brick fortification; we then entered a palm-grove and a small village, partly ruined: being the first village, and nearly the first trees, that we had seen during the morning; our road had been over a sandy plain (often by the side of the rocks, and generally about two hundred yards from the Nile), covered with quartz and cornelians, much clearer than those we found in the plains of Sukkót. The opposite bank and the islands, are very rich and palmy, and the water was covered with the boats of the Pasha. Our direction hither was south. Then we again travelled for an hour, over an immense sandy plain: at first, in direction S.S.E., and latterly S.S.W., to two or three saints' tombs. One of them is quite

* From Herod. (ii. 106.) it appears, that the στῆλαι of Sesostris were nothing more than sculptures on the solid rock; though those described by that historian differ in particulars from the figures we found represented on the Golden Stone: Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην δύο τύποι ἐν πέτρῃσι ἐγκεκολαμμένοι τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς . . . ἑκατέρωθι δ' ἀνὴρ ἐγγέγλυπται μέγαθος πέμπτης σπιθαμῆς, τῇ μὲν δεξιῇ χειρὶ ἔχων αἰχμὴν, τῇ δ' ἀριστερῇ τόξα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σκευὴν ὡσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίην καὶ Αἰθιοπίδα ἔχει· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὤμου εἰς τὸν ἕτερον ὦμον διὰ τῶν στηθέων γράμματα ἱρὰ Αἰγύπτια διήκει ἐγκεκολαμμένα, &c.— Strabo (Lib. xvii. p. 789. D.) attests that Sesostris left στῆλαι and Inscriptions, as memorials of his expedition into Ethiopia, and that they existed even to his own time. Διότι Σεσῶστρις τὴν Αἰθιοπίην ἐπῆλθεν μεχρὶ τῆς κινναμώμοφόρος, καὶ ὑπομνήματα τὰ τῆς στρατείας αὐτοῦ καὶ νῦν ἔτι δείκνυται, στῆλαι καὶ ἐπιγραφάι.

ruined; another is entire, of a conical form, and of mud: there are many graves near, covered as usual, with white quartz stones, and surrounded by broken jars; they are shaded by numerous acacias, which make this spot as agreeable, as it is interesting and romantic. Proceeding a little farther, we came to the Nile again, at Askán, opposite to an island named Sogdán. In crossing the last plain, we had, for the first time, a very good view of the Mirage. It assumed, at first, the appearance of a broad winding stream; and, I confess, I mistook it for the Nile; it then changed, rather suddenly, from a river to a sea, covering the whole of the horizon before us, and on our left; the castles (and there was a very large one before us), the trees, and the rocks, seemed to stand in the middle of it, and we all most distinctly saw their shadows reflected as in the clearest water: the distance of the nearest part, which was continually changing, varied from one quarter to three-quarters of a mile.

There is a cotton-mill at Askán, and much cotton growing about. We observed there, for the first time, a bird of exactly the size and shape of a sparrow, but quite black, and some very large ring-doves. Wild pigeons we had seen latterly in Mahass, but they do not abound here. The inhabitants of these countries seem seldom gay, without being ever melancholy; they neither laugh nor speak loud, nor in the disgusting tone of the Egyptian Arabs*, who, like the Greeks, console themselves by noisy dis-

* I believe the Felláh of Egypt to be the most miserable being in existence. He has all the sufferings and degradations of slavery without any compensation from

putes with each other, for the submission they are obliged to shew to their masters; they are universally very civil, and bring us their sour bread and milk in great abundance. The natives of Askán have a fierce look, and are said to have an extreme hatred for Christians. Our host, after observing me for a long time very attentively, at length asked, "What is he writing?"—"The names of the places, and the description of the country."—"But he is not a Mussulman, he does not write Arabic."—"He is an Englishman." He then removed a large bowl of food, that he had placed between us, to the side of my turbaned friend, thinking that he at least must be one of the Faithful. They have a report here, since the expulsion of the French from Egypt, that, after the death of Mahommed Ali, the English are to take possession of these countries—an idea ingrafted, no doubt, on the original belief, so long prevalent in the East, that sooner or later the whole will be overrun by the Christians.

In three hours fifteen minutes from here, we arrived at a small village on the shore, named Burgade. An excursion to an old castle, which was five times as far off as it seemed to our eyes, albeit accustomed to pure air in Italy and elsewhere, made a difference

luxury; his pleasures seem reduced to two—water to quench his thirst, and repose at night; and the Nile and the setting sun are probably the only objects on which he looks without sorrow. The gratification of hunger is reduced, by the meanness of his food, to a mere relief from pain; the want of comfort in his houses, and of attractions in his women, excludes him from all domestic enjoyments; his songs are only about his labours, and are prayers that he may be able to endure and to finish them; his religious festivals come but twice a year, and he has no sabbath.

of about an hour, so that this place may be reckoned about six miles due S. of Askán. The castle from a distance had the appearance of a round building supported by pillars; it is little more than a shapeless heap of mud; the walls are of immense thickness, and there are holes or caverns underneath, said to be the haunts of wolves. We picked up some bits of fine blue glazed earthenware, retaining the colour perfectly, and there are some red burnt bricks lying near. We passed, in the way to it, some other ruins, chiefly the foundations of houses; an old withering palm was standing over them. The people have heard from their fathers, that, three hundred years ago, all the land was cultivated by sakies erected over wells of water found in the ground; there are proofs of the truth of this tradition at every step, and one such sakie is now in existence, at more than half a mile from the river. This was the first water we had seen since we left Alexandria that was not of the Nile. As far as the eye can reach, the eastern plain, for, though uncultivated, it can no longer be called desert, is covered with acacias, which, however, at a distance seem rather loosely scattered. The ride, down from the castle to Burgade, was an hour and three quarters, or about four miles. The richness of the country beyond the Nile seems hardly to be exceeded by that of the islands which it embraces; they are green and numerous; as if the river had divided itself into canals in order to fertilize as much ground as possible, and save man the trouble of cultivation. About two-thirds of the way from Askán to Burgade is an old castle on the bank, like the one just described.

One of our guides, an Ababde, and a very intelligent man, and whose information, when we could put it to the proof, had always been found correct, assured us this afternoon of a very curious fact, of which it is difficult to understand how much is credible. He declared, that five days east of this place, there is a large river flowing from north to south, and meeting the Nile above Sennaar, called also *Nil.* It rises far north of Souákin, has its inundations in the Chamseen months, and is inhabited by a tribe of Arabs, who, though bearing in common with those who live above Dóngola, the name of Sheygyá, are often at war with them, and have even sent some chiefs to assist the Pasha in this expedition. Its banks are cultivated by sakies, and grow wheat, barley, dhourra, and tobacco. He had seen this river, and spoke of it as different from the Atbara, with whose history he was also acquainted. On our inquiring into the character of the people, and whether it would be safe to trust ourselves among them, with no other protection than the firman of Mahommed Ali, he advised us not to make the experiment, though, should we decide to do so, he would engage himself to conduct us to their country*.

Nov. 23. The large island of Argo begins just above, and the ferry is one hour and a half S.S.E. from Burgade. Not being at first aware of this, we continued more to the eastward, with

* I believe this river to be no other than the Nile itself, which arrives at above the latitude of Argo before it takes the bend to the S.W., of which we afterwards traced the greater part.

a long high mound on our right hand, intercepting, as was sometimes the case yesterday, our view of the Nile and its banks. It has probably been raised to prevent the inundation from extending itself over the plains, which are low and apparently boundless. The ground then, on the outside of this mound, is barren, and covered with a thin surface of sand, though scattered over with a few acacias, and many ruined houses and tombs; but on crossing it on our way to the ferry, we were astonished by the beauty of the wilderness, that flourishes within. We find ourselves suddenly in a natural garden, luxuriant beyond imagination; the air is full of fragrance, and the trees are inhabited by birds, some of which were quite new to us, and all harmonious, though in the general concert the voice of the dove was predominant. A narrow mound of earth separates this fairy land from the places of barrenness and death. It is impossible, without experience, to understand the effect of this sudden display of nature's prodigality on eyes accustomed to the sands of the Desert; and it is the misfortune of travellers, that they can never communicate by description the pleasure they have on many occasions experienced—a misfortune in some degree compensated by the consciousness that the recollection of the event will always renew in themselves the original enjoyment, though it must ever be a solitary one.

On arriving at this place, we were obliged to wait some time for the boat, which was absent; one of our guides, who was born here, had lost a brother lately, and four of his friends, who

had not seen him since that event, came in form to offer their condolences; they present themselves before him, place their hands on his shoulders, and continue for about two minutes to lament aloud; they then either retire or begin to converse as it may happen, on indifferent subjects. This scene was quite new to us, and the effect of it extremely singular, but very far from ridiculous. This man, the same who gave us the information about the eastern river, was obliged in consequence to leave us here, but sent with us his son, with his best camel, telling him to follow us wheresoever we might go, and never to leave us while we had need of him. Here also our good Ababde requested permission to return to his wife and child; and as other camels were found, and we had the assurance that Abdin Casheff was only one day's journey distant, we consented, and it was really not without regret that we parted with him. He received one or two handsome strings of Venetian beads for his wife, and declared that he felt so much gratitude and even attachment to us, that were he ever to see us again, he would come up and speak to us, though it should be in the presence of the Pasha. He was an honest, single-hearted, grateful, and well-informed man; possessing, in short, precisely those qualities which are said never to be found in a Greek.

We crossed the river, here very narrow, in a deep, strong, flat-bottomed boat, with a plank projecting from each end, and landed on Argo at about ten o'clock. Our ferryman had never before been paid in money, but always in corn or salt: this is

found at three or four days' distance in the Eastern* Desert, and brought by the Arabs, in lumps which are above half dirt, and are purified by being boiled. After an excursion with our guns into the woods, we soon set out again, with fresh cavalry, for the Antiquities, which had been so long promised, and so singularly described to us. My vehicle for this expedition was a large old camel, which, for some reason best known to its proprietor, had been buttered from head to foot; and from the consequent adhesion of sand and mud to different parts of the skin, had the appearance of being piebald. It is unnecessary to add, that the odour exhaling from this animal was far from being delicate.

We rode an hour and a quarter (direction a little to E. of S.) before we found a village. The island is a little sandy in the middle, and only partially inundated, and towards the northern extremity but little cultivated; it abounds in every part with very large sycamores and acacias and doums and palms, which are all full of large ring-doves, so tame that we shot at them with pistols. We saw a hare and a quail, and bagged a brace of fine partridges. We observed some of the natives catching fish in a pond with a basket, as is common in Egypt. We passed some ruined houses, a saint's tomb, and one or two burial-places, and remarked a grave headed by a stone with a St. Andrew's cross upon it. There is a great deal of very fine cotton growing in the neighbourhood of this village. The sakies in these countries are made without nails, the pieces being very strongly tied toge-

* Strabo, lib. xvii., p. 823: Ὀρυκτοὶ δ' ἁλὲς καθαπερ ἐν τοῖς Ἀραψι, &c.

ther by cords of skin; nails are used in Egypt, where iron* is less scarce. In two hours and forty-five minutes more we came to some houses on the eastern bank, after riding four hours in the island, in the direction S.S.E. with little variation. The Nile here is like a canal, and there is, between Argo and the main land, another very small island, named Ashar. The natives assured us that the extreme length of Argo is one day and a half with camels, and that it requires, in the broadest part, six hours and a half to cross it, making it about thirty-five miles by fifteen†. It is neither cultivated nor inhabited in proportion to its fertility, which is in many places very extraordinary. There are few remains of any kind, and none, thus far, of the slightest importance. The people were all remarkably civil, shaking hands with us as we passed them on the road. The flocks and most of the property is in the possession of the Ababde; the Nubians chiefly reside in the smaller islands, though there are some villages inhabited by them in Argo.

Nov. 24. In about half an hour, due S. from the village, we came to the Antiquities, and approached them, not without great fears of disappointment. These were soon dispelled by the first object that appeared before us; it was a colossal statue of grey granite, representing a young man

* What Herodotus has said of the scarcity of iron among the Macrobii, (iii. 23.) is at present equally true of all Ethiopians. Ἔστι δ' ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι Αἰθίοψι πάντων ὁ χαλκὸς σπανιώτατον καὶ τιμιώτατον.

† We had afterwards reason to believe that this is a little exaggerated.

with the thin beard and corn-measure bonnet; the left leg is advanced; before the right, cut in the same stone, and standing on the foot, is a small statue, five feet high, bearded, and with the right hand on the breast, while the left hangs straight down; the hair is turned on the right side, in such a manner as to appear an ornament on that part of the head: and the face is much disfigured. The statue itself is broken in the middle, and the monstrous fragments lie about four feet apart, but nothing is lost; the face is entire, but flat and broad. The statue lies on its back, and is twenty-two feet six inches long, and five feet five inches across the shoulders; there is a small hole in the front of the bonnet, probably intended for the reception of the ornament or sistrum. It lies S.S.E. and N.N.W.

There is a second statue like the first, except that it is not broken in the middle, that the face is in a better style, that the beard is twisted, an ornament of leaves goes round the edge of the bonnet, the dress is more highly finished and decorated, and there is no figure on the foot; the arms and beard have been intentionally broken. It is twenty-three feet five inches long, and measures seven feet four inches from the end of the bonnet to the end of the beard. The hands, which have suffered much injury, are open; those of the other are shut, with a short staff in them. It lies S.E. and N.W. nearly; the feet of the two statues are towards each other, and about thirty-five yards apart. They are both very well executed, and are inferior,

if their perfection be considered, to no granite colossus existing; though the faces are not so fine as the Memnon, and, of course, not at all comparable in expression to those at Ebsámbal, as is natural, from the superior difficulty of working the material. A little to the west is a headless female statue, covered by earth up to the knees; and still further on is a fine block of grey granite, cut into four hippopotami, standing up, side by side. The small statue only is of black granite; the others really look as white and clear, and as free from the injuries of time, as if they were now fresh from the hand of the sculptor. The place is called by the natives Sanna Behát, or the White Art, as interpreted to us; a name inconsistent with the opinions formerly promulgated to us by our honest Ababde, but not so (as will afterwards appear) with those of the Nouba residents. There is much pottery and broken sandstone lying about, but no visible remains of any building whatever. Never was there so inviting a place for an excavator; the soil is soft, and as the ground is but little elevated, the labour would be small, and the rewards easily obtained and highly valuable. We retired reluctantly, with the determination of demanding Abdin Casheff's permission to return hither, and pass some time on the spot.

In one hour and a half more (direction south) we arrived, very hungry, at a small village, inhabited by Nubians, where we found good bread and milk, and even decent butter; a luxury which we now enjoyed for the first time since the commencement of

our expedition. Our host, a smith, was very curious in examining our umbrellas and pistols; and confessed that, though he could make a sakie as well as any man in Argo, his skill did not extend to such articles as those. Here is a sycamore, whose younger branches have actually grown through their elder brethren in eight or ten places.

In one hour from here we came to a large cultivated plain, and in one and a quarter to the Nile, flowing N.N.W., with a very broad stream: our direction had been latterly about S.S.W. The scenery of this beautiful island consists in a number of small open plains, some of grass, with cows and goats feeding without any keeper, and others cultivated; all shut in by sycamore and aromatic groves, which constantly open into new plains as rich, or as capable of being made so, as the former. The two last nights were much colder, which did not prevent the musquitos from being remarkably active about us. There is a breed peculiar to this country, which is much smaller, and less sonorous, than those whose attentions we had been in the habit of receiving. We had, of late, frequently observed a beautiful little green bird; another with the neck, breast and tail, of the deepest red; and a black bird, with the tip of his tail white.

We sat by the water-side, waiting for the boat which was to take us across to the western bank, and congratulated each other on the conclusion of our labours. We were now, according to all our information, but a few hours from New Dóngola, where we should find Abdin Casheff resident as governor, who

would, no doubt, receive us with that splendid hospitality for which he had always been remarkable. We dismissed, in consequence, at their own request, all our camel-drivers, except one, and presently the boat arrived. The ferryman brings us later and very different intelligence; Abdin Casheff has advanced with Ismael Pasha, the whole army is collected, and engaged in daily skirmishes with the Sheygy'a and Abyssinians*; we are still four days from Old Dóngola, and the troops are five days beyond it. This account induced us to examine, what we had not before much thought off, our money-bag, which was found to contain two hundred and twenty piastres, (somewhat less than five pounds), and three Venetian sequins. With these reports and this certainty we enter the boat, and seat ourselves astern on the luggage, alternately looking very grave, and laughing loud. The ferryman, a black malicious looking man, with much magic in his eye, is behind us, on the projecting plank, steering with a paddle. In the middle lies a large old camel on its knees, perfectly quiet; and by its side stand James and Giovanni, pulling a rope, attached to another paddle, which serves for an oar, and which a sailor is also pulling with his hands. The dog, Anubis, is asleep beyond the camel; then comes Giuseppe, evidently philosophizing in silence on the mutability of human affairs, and regretting the pleasures and security of Cairo and of Malta; and at the prow is the camel-driver, standing on the bottom of a long shawl, and stretching out the upper part with his hands,

* This part of the news was, of course, false.

On Stone by A. Aglio.

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to make a sail; thus do we cross over, and find the reports confirmed.

"Praised be God," exclaimed an old Nubian, who observed me writing with a pencil, "praised be God, the Creator of the world, who has taught man to enclose ink in the centre of a piece of wood."

Nov. 25. From the peculiar howling of a dog, the people of this village (named Zogaràb) had predicted the death of some one in the place during the night: however, they were all alive in the morning, and prepared to take every possible advantage of our helpless situation. We were surprised to find this union of English superstitions with Greek customs, under the mud huts of Dóngola.

They told us of a strong, though not singular, instance of Turkish severity. When the army was encamped in the neighbourhood, an old woman of this village refused to take in payment the piastres of Egypt; for though the savages have not the slightest objection to Spanish dollars or Venetian sequins, they have yet a very reasonable dislike to a coin that is neither silver nor gold. Ismael Pasha ordered this woman to be brought before him; she supported her refusal, even in his presence, with great spirit, and ended by contemptuously throwing down the money at his feet. He commanded his janissaries to beat her to death, and the sentence was immediately executed.

As no nobler beasts could, after the strictest search, be dis-

covered, I confess, with shame, that we were obliged again to put ourselves under obligations to that patient animal, whom we had before discarded with so much contempt. Three asses were hired, at a price ill suiting the state of our finances, to assist the great camel in the conveyance of our luggage, and we all proceeded on foot. We were obliged to throw away a number of very clear agates and cornelians, from inability to carry them, reserving only a few broken agates to supply the want of flints for our guns. We had, luckily, a very pleasant country to walk over; our road (S. by E.) was through a finely wooded and well-cultivated ground, of which the width must be about a mile and a half. After four hours of this exercise, performed in the middle of a very hot day, we arrived at Maragga*, which is also called New Dóngola. It is a large and very neat mud town, built, or greatly improved, by the Mamelouks, and was the seat of their government. It has many large courts and squares it it, and is beautifully situated in the richest country of the Nile. We arrived at about three in the afternoon, without having tasted food, and Giovanni was so much exhausted that three or four more such days would probably have put an end to his journeys of discovery. Some very bad bread and water (all that this great capital afforded us for breakfast,) was made palatable by a few good dates and an

* Possibly Mokra, the name of the country described by Selim el Assouany, as lying next to the north of the district of Bakou, through which the Nile flows from east to west. See Burckhardt, p. 495.

excellent appetite. In the mean time, we assured ourselves of the entire impossibility of proceeding by land, as every beast of burden had been taken away by the army, which was represented as being eight or nine days in advance. The town is situated above a mile from the river, by the side of which was encamped a Turkish Aga with a few soldiers. We determined to throw ourselves on his generosity, and to request him to give us a passage on board some one of the boats that were daily sailing by with supplies for the army. Mr. Hanbury, to whom this important mission is confided, takes unusual pains with the adjustment of his turban and the rest of his toilette—a precaution by no means useless, when an effect is to be produced on a Turk. My less laborious office was to remain above, as guardian of our property, and I filled it in the most natural manner by falling into a profound sleep, from which I was awaked by the news of the success of my friend's embassy; it was added, that the boats were already arrived, and that we were presently to embark. The Aga's name is Haffussar: he is a native of Constantinople, and one of the politest Turks I ever saw. He treated us with extreme civility, gave us his own tent to dine and sleep in, and presented us with a kid for to-morrow; so that we were recompensed by a very pleasant evening for our morning's anxiety, and again indulged ourselves in good hopes of the future.

Nov. 26. We exchanged names and addresses with the Aga, made him some trifling presents, and went on board

early. Our carpets were spread on the deck, in the after-part of the boat, which is the post of dignity, and we had just room enough allowed us to move about in. The boat was one of the largest that had passed the cataracts, and was about sixty feet long and twelve or fourteen broad. We had fourteen soldiers and four sailors on board, not one of whom had ever been here before; and indeed, there was only one man in the whole squadron, which consisted of sixteen sail, who was at all acquainted with the navigation of this part of the river.

We were off by about seven o'clock, and in an hour and a half came to a small island, on the left. The land is very low on the west, and the cultivation extensive; on the east, the sand comes down to the bank, which is fringed with acacias. We met our old friend Mahommed Effendi returning in a small cangee. The Nile is above half a mile broad, and our rate of stemming the current at least four miles an hour. In two hours and a half, an island begins near the East bank, and continues twenty minutes; opposite, on the West, are the remains of a large walled old town, with eight or ten saints' tombs about it; it is built of a mixture of stones, brick, and mud; there is another old building, nearly a mile within, on the sands, which there rise a little. The saints' tombs are generally conical, and appear from thirty to forty feet high. Opposite the end of the island are more tombs and ruins, and the desert comes nearly down to the Nile. Another small island follows, still on the same side: we constantly sailed along the western bank. For

the next half-hour, other islands succeed, green and cultivated, and we observed on the shore a number of erections, like small stages, where persons were posted to tend the corn by constantly slinging stones at the birds; attempts have also been made to clear the country, by burning down the trees: such improvements were the effect of the government of the Mamelouks, and confined to the territory that was under them. In three hours and fifteen minutes the islands finish for the present, and we saw some ruins on the sandhills, which are still near the Nile on both sides; they soon after retire on the West. The trees grow thicker, and we again hear the creaking of the water-wheels.

Nothing apparently could be more delightful than our present easy manner of travelling, attended by such constant changes in a scene of which every part was new. There was one very slight drawback on our happiness. The biscuits we had brought with us for an easy journey of eight days were exhausted, we had no flour to make bread, and the only fire allowed on board was occupied; so that we could not even procure the luxury of tea. The soldiers stared at us repeatedly; they were already preparing their dinner, and seemed to wonder why we deferred so long the great pleasure of the day. At last, one of them, who was sick, and in consequence not hungry, offered us a few dates, and our dignity did not, at that moment, interfere to prevent our acceptance of them.

In four hours we passed a sandbank and a rock, both on our

left; the current is here very strong. Soon afterwards the wind became stormy, the air filled with sand, and the boats that had only one sail tied up half of it. In five hours and twenty minutes we stopped on the western bank, and taking in all sail, were still blown up above a mile further, against the current. The whole fleet then collected, and a general disembarkation took place. The cause of the delay thus occasioned was characteristic of the customs of the Turks, and honourable to their humanity. A soldier had died in the morning, and all his companions had thus the opportunity of assisting at his funeral. They laid him in the earth, with his shirt on, read some verses of the Koran over him, and placed a jar and water at his head. A distribution of double rations was the consequence of this event, and it was so late before we were again in motion, that we hardly made three miles more before sunset; we then all drew up to the bank again for the night. Our general direction through this day was a little to the eastward of South. I have not thought it necessary to enumerate all its trifling changes, because they are marked in the map, as they were accurately noted down at the moment. The fertile ground appears generally to extend about half a mile from the Nile, and is often separated by acacia groves from the desert, on the edge of which, among the trees, we frequently found deserted habitations and burial-grounds; the rocks here are sandstone. Our fleet had on board three pieces of brass cannon, one of which was of English manufacture, and large supplies of powder, ball, and provisions,

for the army. Our own boat was laden with the ball, and was, in consequence, a foot deeper in the water than any other; but the one which we afterwards observed to be generally last, and for which all the rest were obliged to wait more than once, was charged with sweetmeats from Constantinople for the private table of the Pasha.

Nov. 27. After losing nearly an hour of fair wind, we set sail at about eight, and in about twenty minutes passed two very conspicuous saints' tombs on the hills near the water*, and in half an hour a village with palms and sakies; the land is low on the East side, with the sandhills close behind, and the Nile narrower. In one hour and five minutes is another tomb, finely situated on a hill near the river, on the East. In one hour and thirty minutes we passed some more palms: the interval from the last is well cultivated, but there are no trees or habitations visible. Soon afterwards begins a small green island; the Nile is navigable on both sides of it, and above half a mile broad. In two hours there is a slight turn to the westward of South, and the shore, for about half an hour, is extremely rich. The soldiers declared they should prefer quarters in the meanest village in Upper Egypt, to this expedition, and almost for no other reason than the impossibility of procuring tobacco; as a substitute for which they smoked a mixture of acacia leaves and dates. They had certainly no other hardships; they had

* Whenever the bank is not particularized, the left is to be understood; as being that near which we generally sailed, and where we always passed the night, till our entrance into Dar Sheygy'a.

always wheat, flour, and abundance of rice, and sometimes meat, and seemed none of them to want money; there was no parade or military exercise whatever, and if ordered to assist the sailors in any difficulty, very few obeyed, and none with any spirit or exertion; they were employed, from sun-rise to mid-day, about making their bread and cooking their meat, and passed the rest of the time in endeavouring to sleep; with the exception of two or three only, who were regular in the performance of their religious prostrations.

In three hours and a half we came to a very large ruined town, named Handech; part is situated on an eminence, and the rest, which is walled, extends along the river side for nearly half a mile; it is protected on the other side by the brown hills of the Desert; we were assured that it was built by the Pagans; we observed an arch, and plaster on some of the walls; a fine tomb stands on a stony elevation behind. A caravan passing through it at the moment we were sailing by, gave an animation to its lifeless walls, and added an interest which they would not otherwise have possessed. There are a few palms and broader cultivation above it.

In the first four hours we made about fourteen miles; in four hours and thirty minutes we passed a small village surrounded by palms, where the width of the Nile is less than usual; and in four hours and fifty-five minutes a considerable bank projects into the water, on the West side; and is succeeded, in twenty minutes more, by another, of nearly a mile in length. Soon

afterwards the current becomes very strong on the East side; and in five hours and forty-five minutes, the West bank appears less rich and woody, and the Nile for some distance is not above three hundred yards in breadth. We observed a few doum trees mixed with the acacias, which, on the eastern bank, had so long occupied the very narrow line between the river and the Desert. In six hours and fifteen minutes we stopped for a damaged boat: near this place is a small village called Colgérrab, but we could buy no provisions there, though the ground is well cultivated and very rich, and full of ring-doves and partridges; it is bounded, towards the Desert, by a fine acacia grove; the current is very strong, and the only palm I had yet observed on the eastern side is opposite. Our rate of going was about three and a half miles an hour.

In a quarter of an hour we passed another small island, and in another quarter three tombs, on the East, and a flat island near the western shore; and in twenty minutes more comes a green island on our right; the current is very strong, and in one place the sandstone rocks on the East come down to the water's edge. In one hour begins a large island on our left, which soon becomes very green and palmy; we had a beautiful sun-set, and the land and sky on both sides were coloured with the richest tints. In two hours and thirty minutes we stopped for the night, having made in that time about eight miles: the island ends nearly opposite. Our general direction through the

day was about S.S.E. Many partridges crossed the river during it, and we saw more wild geese than is usual in Egypt.

Nov. 28. We observed, for the first time since our embarkation, some appearances of fertility on the eastern bank. In an hour and a quarter (about three miles) is Wady Hinnówah. We were told that the Desert here abounds with a very large species of jackal; we had heard the cry of wild beasts frequently during the night. In one hour and twenty-five minutes the Nile widens on the left side; and in two hours our direction was, for a short distance, to the *westward* of South, which was very unusual; the river is not more than two hundred and fifty yards broad; the western bank in its turn becomes barren, and the yellow sand is visible near the water's edge. In two hours and forty minutes the deep water is by the eastern shore, and our direction was South again; in the third hour we made about three miles and a half. In three hours and fifty minutes, after a short interval of fertile land, the sand again prevails on the West. The river is very broad, and there are many sakies, though no palms, on the East. In four hours we passed a small island, which was soon followed by another about two miles in length, both on the East side.

Of the soldiers on board our boat all, but two, were Asiatic Turks; who, though not forward in their attentions to us, were yet not deficient either in civility or respect. Of those two, one was a Georgian, or Persian, a remarkably fine young man, who

had committed some singularly violent acts: he found himself engaged, one morning, in a gambling quarrel at Cairo, with two Turks, one of whom fired at him; he first locked the door, and then with the greatest coolness took out his pistols and shot them both; the fact became notorious, but as the first outrage had been committed by his antagonist, his life was spared. He killed a third soldier at Siout under nearly similar circumstances, and then Ismael Pasha would have punished him with death, but for the influence of his head janissary, who was a fellow-countryman of the Persian. At Assouan he received several hundred blows of the *nabboot**, for some offence which he is said to have repeated the following day; however, he soon afterwards determined to reform, and gave the usual proof of his good intentions, by allowing his beard to grow; but even after that event, being one day furiously irritated by his fellow-soldiers on board the boat, he once more drew out his pistols, and though he had full three inches of the hair of repentance on his chin, he gave them all (thirteen in number) a challenge, which none of them thought proper to accept. This man was most particularly attentive to us and our servants, and was in manners and demeanour the most civilized man on board. The other was an Albanian, in appearance the very reverse of the Persian, but even surpassing him in good will to "the

* The nabboot is a long straight and thick stick, generally to be found in the hands of Turks in authority, and supplying, as an instrument of punishment, the place of the more complicated weapons in use among Christians.

strangers;" he insisted on baking our bread, and doing other little services for us, with his own hands; he was a shrewd fellow, but full of humour and buffoonery, which he exercised at the expense of the more devout natives of Asia; and when they spread out their gazelle skin, to perform upon it their adorations and genuflexions, he often mimicked the whole performance so admirably, as to amuse even Mussulmen* more than he offended. It is needless to add, that he was a professed infidel. It appears to me that infidelity is about as common in this class of Mahometans, as it is among the lower orders of Catholics. I have seen several instances of both, and have generally remarked them to be men of courage and intelligence, worthy to have been educated in a purer religion.

The eastern bank continues to be fertile and well cultivated; and, at some distance in the Desert, we observed a tomb finely situated on the top of a conical rock. In five hours and a quarter we arrived opposite to Old Dóngola. The capital of what was not long ago a powerful and a Christian kingdom, and of whose present importance we had been led to form high expectations at Cairo; where we had hoped to find much worthy of observation, and where the soldiers had long promised themselves a fresh supply of tobacco, is a miserable ruin, differing only in size from those that we had been in the habit

* Our soldiers were in general very *liberal*; on discussing the fate of their companion, who died the other day, one of them remarked, "Well, he is gone to see which religion is the best!" and nobody found fault with him.

of remarking; it is situated on a rock, sloping down to the water's edge, and now covered with sand, a large mass of which has evidently buried much of the centre of the town, and has divided the remains into two parts. The first of these is a brick ruin, situated on a sandstone rock, having on one side a portion of the fortification wall; the other, or southern division, is larger, has more appearance of neatness, and is partly inhabited. The whole is surrounded on three sides by the desert, and there is not so strong, or a more barren, spot in the whole country. There is a black-headed hill a little to the S.E. of the town, and a large detached fortress beyond it.

We were not allowed to stop here, and passed the whole, going very well, in about ten minutes; and in twenty more we came to a small island on the west bank; a little below the beginning of it, on the east, is a large stone ruin, among the acacias, about two hundred yards from the river. It is, probably, only a fortress of no great antiquity, though differing in appearance from any we had seen: we were not permitted to indulge our curiosity by landing to examine it. The Nile is very broad here, and our rate of going at least four miles and a half an hour. In six hours and twenty minutes begins an island on our left, though at some distance from the eastern shore, on which is a curious brick building; and in six hours and thirty minutes we saw another on the western side. The river is shallow here, and the tops of some trees were visible above the water;

here our direction changed to S.E., and soon afterwards to S.E. by E. In seven hours and ten minutes we passed a ferry-boat by the shore of the island on our left, which we learned is called Tánger. Soon afterwards the desert on the west comes down to the water. It was very rare, even in Dóngola, that we had the sight of fertility on both banks at the same time. Tánger seems, by the palms which mark the river's course beyond it, to be at least half a mile broad. In seven hours and a half we saw a very distant building on a hill-top on the east side; a small island intervenes between us and Tánger, about a mile long; and in eight hours we passed a large ruined mud building of two stories, not far from us on the left. Our direction was latterly east, or even to the northward of it. Here is an old town on the right side. In eight hours and thirty-five minutes (our rate was latterly very slow) the long island of Tánger ends. We observed sand-hills thinly sprinkled with acacias beyond it, the usual scenery of the eastern (now northern) bank.

It has been remarked, that in Nubia, the country between the cataracts, the course of the Nile being generally from the westward of south, the eastern bank is the richest, and the converse of this is certainly true in Dóngola; however, the degree of fertility must depend on the height of the banks, and not on the direction of the river; as the lower ground, even when too high for the inundation, is more easily irrigated. There is another fact, which may assist in accounting for the

great difference in the soil of the two sides of the river in Dóngola. The desert on the right bank is in general a deep sand, while that on the left (as we had afterwards opportunities of observing) has frequently a hard stony surface; in the former case the alluvial soil by the waterside may have been covered by heaps of sand, carried thither by the violent tropical winds, which may also have gradually heightened the bank; no such accumulation can have taken place in the latter.

Our direction here was E.N.E., but it changed in a quarter of an hour to E.S.E. In nine hours and ten minutes we stopped at a place called Wady Jebríah, after making scarcely two miles and a half in the last hour and ten minutes.

The soldiers every evening broke down the trees, which were dry and abundant, and lighted their large watch fires along the bank, which extending, with intervals, for nearly half a mile, threw a red and warlike glare on the river, and the opposite shore; and their own appearance, as they stood feeding the blaze, or conversing with much gesture by the side of it, possessed peculiar barbarity and wildness; the light shone on the handles of their pistols and the hilts of their sabres, and the various and strongly contrasted colours of their dresses, appeared more confused and more brilliant; their faces, already shaded by beard and mustachios, assumed a darker and sallower hue, and the expression of their black rolling eyes, which by daylight would have been only animation, became heightened into anger and ferocity.

My man, Giovanni*, who is by profession a tailor, and whose unadventurous spirit has already been mentioned, foreseeing nothing in this ill-starred expedition but privations and dangers, exclaimed, this evening, smiling at the time most wofully—"Quel chi è morto là basso ha fatto molto bene;" and proceeded to lament the continuance of his own existence. James was much better employed in examining the contents of a Nubian cottage, which produced us a fine fowl, seized, of course, by violence, and then paid for. This was a bad example to the soldiers, who, extraordinary as it may appear, observed the strictest discipline, and in their transactions with the natives, allowed themselves to be imposed upon with extreme facility, and confessed, that in small parties they dared not have taken the strong measures, to which in the beginning of our journey we had been unfortunately obliged to have recourse.

Nov. 29. The first scene this morning was sufficiently amusing; our commodore, an elderly man, with a white beard, and who always consulted his dignity by wearing a long orange-coloured vest, appeared early on the bank with a long stick in his hand, declaiming violently; he warms as he goes on, and shortly proceeds to apply his nabboot to all within his reach,

* Though no adventurer, Giovanni Fiamingo is no coward; but as he held it extremely unwise to make any advances to danger, he would willingly have confined his travels to the country *below* the Second Cataract. He is, withal, a most respectable and honest young man; and in the charge, that we afterwards gave him, of conducting our two Dóngola horses to England, he conducted himself with great propriety and fidelity.

till he has cleared the coast; he then finished his harangue, and returned to his boat. The cause of all this confusion was a complaint of the natives, that the soldiers in the night had plucked the ears of their dhourra, of which offence this discipline, thus inflicted, was to prevent the repetition. Our case of the fowl also came under his cognizance; but as a previous refusal to sell, and subsequent payment, were proved on our part, he gave his approbation to such a modification of robbery, saying, at the same time, with great justice and a good deal of pride, that a French or Russian army, in a march through a conquered country, would not be troubled with so many scruples. He is evidently a very good sort of man, and, for a Turk, probably well informed. At the time when Mahommed Ali wished to open a trade with the East Indies by the Red Sea, he went thither, with Mr. Briggs, in an official capacity; and returned, though unsuccessful, yet with the highest possible respect for the English name. He gave us daily, and, as far as he could, substantial proofs of this, by supplying us with rice and flour, the only provisions on board the fleet.

Owing to the change in the course of the stream, those of the soldiers who prayed were generally unfortunate in their guesses at the direction of the Holy City, and their prayers, in consequence, lost their efficacy; this exposed them to the ridicule of the sailors, who were in this instance better geographers. There were some artillery officers on board the fleet,

sent, it was said, from Constantinople, and they were the only men who preserved the slightest appearance of *uniform*; they wear blue trowsers, a red jacket, and a striped black and white silk turban; the rest were such a motley set of ragamuffins as I never beheld; they were dressed in green, blue, scarlet, brown, or white, each man according to his own fancy, agreeing only in their general raggedness. Their offensive arms are a long gun, a brace of very long and often very bad pistols, and a sword, or attaghan, or knife; they are defended, rather than clothed, by a large turban round the head, and three or four long shawls, of which the inner ones are very coarse, and even the exterior seldom tolerably fine, bound very tight round the body, and capable of stopping a pistol-ball at fifteen or twenty yards. The Albanians are distinguished by wearing no turban, the only covering of their head being a large red cap, coming over the ears and forehead.

There are a few mud buildings among the trees here, but the ruins are generally on the edge of the Desert; it was no doubt with a view to economize the fertile ground, that the inhabitants, who seem formerly to have been very numerous, consented to sacrifice the convenience of living by the water-side; at present, most of the land is overgrown with trees, and the cottages are scattered among them. A fine north wind got up, as had been the case for several days, at about seven o'clock; but as our course here was, for a short distance, East, the Commodore and his officers hesitated whether they should set sail or

no, and it was not till after a delay of four hours, that, without any change of circumstance, we began to move on. I was no longer surprised at the information, that they had been employed sixty-four days in coming up from Wady Halfa, and if there really existed any great difficulties in passing the cataracts, it is hard to conceive how they surmounted them. Yet, notwithstanding this general conviction of their incapacity, we could not help being astonished at the fresh proofs they were constantly giving of it; it is to be said, however, that there is probably not a Turk in existence who sets any value on time, or who thinks any thing better done for its being done more quickly.

In twenty minutes we passed two saints' tombs, in the Desert on the left. There is here a little turn southward, or rather, a widening of the Nile on the right side. In twenty minutes more begins an island on the right; and in ten minutes from there we met a very strong current, which continued nearly half a mile, where the passage must be rather difficult when the water is low. The Nile then turns round this island from East to S.S.E., and our course was round near the sandy shore on the left; in one hour the island ends in a sandbank; we made about three miles in this hour. Soon afterwards, there are appearances of fertility and cultivation on our left, which are also so extensive on the opposite bank, that there is perhaps no richer spot on the Nile than this. The corn was in all states; I observed it just coming up, just coming into ear, ripe, and removed, in the same field. The river here is not above a

quarter of a mile in breadth. In one hour and forty minutes our course was S.E. again, and the Desert once more prevails on the East, and in two hours we passed a stone building on the West bank, and the yellow hills just behind it. In two hours and fifty minutes, our direction was gradually become E. by N.; we soon afterwards passed two sandbanks on the right, having made about two miles and a half in the last hour. In three hours and ten minutes an island, named Ghirrah, begins on the left, and there were some small rocks in the water on our right. The island is very rich and covered with palms, and has two ferry-boats on the bank; the inhabitants were at their labours, and all had the appearance of peace. Most of the Dongoláwies* seem to speak Arabic, which has been probably taught them at the point of the spear by the Sheygy'a, who, like more civilized conquerors, will speak no other language than their own. In four hours and fifty minutes Ghirrah terminates, being scarcely three miles long; and in five hours and thirty minutes our little fleet drew up for the night on the western (now southern) bank, as, to prevent surprise, it had always done hitherto; the head-quarters of the Turkish army are supposed to be on that side of the river, and the force of the enemy on the other.

There had been many speculations, we found, on our probable mission or occupation; the better informed, however, or more

* Their mother-tongue is Nubian, and the Arabic they speak is generally very bad. I am, therefore, surprised to find in Burckhardt, (p. 65.) that "in Wady Dóngola, the Nubian language ceases to be spoken."

penetrating, part of our observers, had come to the conclusion, that we were two geographers, employed by our government to survey the country and note down the situation of the places.

Nov. 30. We began nearly East, and made about two miles and a half in the first hour. In one hour and a half we had the Desert on both sides of us; that on our right was brown and stony, while loose yellow sands were all that was visible on the left; on the contrary, in Sukkót, and during the whole length of the Batn el Hadjar, the rocks on the West side are generally covered with sand, and form a striking contrast with the unvaried blackness of their opposite brethren. In two hours we stopped for want of wind, after having made about four miles. In fifteen minutes more begins an island, on the left, named Gooshop; and in half an hour more we ran on shore in the middle of the channel, near the end of the island, and so lost half an hour. In one hour and a half, near some sakies on our right, several of the boats again got aground, and the river continues very shallow, and with not above three or four feet of water for nearly a mile beyond. We kept on the right side, and in two hours perhaps made two miles and a quarter. We heard accounts that the Sheygy'a were encamped on the East bank, with two pieces of cannon, and had lately repulsed a severe attack of the Moggrebyns. In the third hour we made about two miles; on our right was a rich and well-cultivated island, which ended in forty-five minutes; the stream dividing it from the main land is a mere canal, which may possibly have been

artificial; it is dry in spring. In four hours and fifteen minutes, fertility having for some time recommenced on our left, we counted at the same moment thirty-two water-wheels at work on that bank; we kept close to the right, which was not so well cultivated. The Nile is broad here, varying from a half to three-quarters of a mile. Our direction through the whole day was, with little variation, East; we were detained for some time, waiting for another boat, after which we made two miles and a half more in the evening, and came up with our friends a-head, whose situation was marked by the usual blaze along the water-side. There were no houses nor cultivation in this place, but the other side seemed as rich as any part of the banks of the Nile, though without many trees: there are some high hills, four or five miles within.

Dec. 1. There was little wind this morning, and that little nearly contrary, as our direction, which was at first rather to the northward of East, soon became E.N.E. Egyptian sailors have no idea, however broad the river may be, of struggling against wind and tide by tacking; indeed, they require so much time to shift their large triangular sails, that more way would be lost during the operation than would be gained by the tack. Accordingly, the sailors and some of the soldiers were sent on shore to haul us up, and the Commodore resumed his nab-boot, and directed and stimulated their exertions; this time, however, he confined his blows to the sailors, who were entirely Arabs or Nubians, and whose less honourable country and profession

entitled them to the exclusive endurance of a chastisement, which was rendered more effectual by their nudity. The soldiers became geologists: having seen us pick up a few agates and cornelians, many of them immediately followed our example, and made a vast collection of all kinds of stones, which at Cairo were to be transformed into rings and mouth-pieces for their pipes. After advancing, with great labour, about five miles, we drew up for the night. The Nile in this spot runs due South, back to its source. The opposite, now the western, side, had resumed its sterility; that by which we slept was nearly uncultivated, though rich, and covered, to above a mile in depth, with doums and acacias. Mr. Hanbury made an excursion into the Desert, in pursuit of gazelles, and was rewarded by a distant view of a larger animal, with branching horns like a stag. He observed traces of the inundation at some distance from the river. Some men with their camels passed us on their way down, who professed to have left the army in the morning. The Sheygy'a were said to be collected in arms on a large island opposite to the invaders. Giovanni, this evening, gave vent to his feelings, in words which I am willing to hope were meant for poetry, and were, perhaps, only the burden of a song composed by him during the progress of this *adventurous* journey. I overheard him repeating, with great feeling,

Benedetto sia il giorno
Del nostro ritorno!

Our fare was certainly not sumptuous; a flat cake or two of half-baked dough, tea without sugar or milk, a little rice, and abundance of water, were our certainties; it was only occasionally that we could any how obtain a morsel of meat, or a few dates; but the only real evil was, that we had no active employment; after exercise, any food is palatable, but idleness requires to be pampered. We were under orders to be always ready to move, and were hardly ever moving; we had no comfort on board, and there was little to interest on shore; we passed a good deal of time in transcribing our journals, and consoled the day with the hope that the morrow might produce events more lively and animating.

Dec. 2. In about a mile and a half we passed some stone ruins on a sandhill on our left, of considerable size; on the highest point is a castle, with steps up to the only visible entrance, which is near the top. A very small island lies just beyond, and the Nile above it is more than half a mile broad. We soon afterwards came opposite to a fine group of conical black hills, in the Desert on our left, about four or five miles off.

There was a good deal of sickness in the fleet, and our boat had its share of the evil; one little soldier had been all the time lying at our feet, groaning most lamentably, both day and night, from a pain in his face and neck, which were violently inflamed. He had contrived, I could never learn how, to force out one of his teeth, which he considered as the author of his suffering,

but with no good effect. There were also one or two cases of ophthalmia on board; our own party had hitherto escaped, but to-day James had so violent an attack of dysentery, as to be unable to stand; as he attributed it entirely to the penetrating keenness of the night air, to which we were always exposed, we prescribed him a box-coat, which happily effected the cure.

To-day we did not make above four miles and a half; our general direction being N.E. The river had been of late very shallow, and the sailors walked in the water, while they dragged us, at the distance of at least two hundred yards from the shore; it is in this place about a mile broad. The bank, where we tied our boats for the night, was well cultivated; dochen was growing there, as well as the Syrian dhourra, but no wheat. The Dongoláwys told us that Abdin Casheff had promised them all the seeds of Egypt. There were some houses, of which the inhabitants were not to be found; the soldiers were consoled for their absence, by the discovery of some sheep and goats, and learnedly concluding their non-existence from their non-appearance, took logical possession of the whole flock.

In the course of the afternoon, a heavy cannonading was heard from above, in consequence of which the old commander invited all the soldiers to draw up before him in two lines; they then proceeded, not to exercise or show the state of their arms, but to pray: one of the party was selected, from superior strength of lungs or of devotion, to give out the prayers, and the rest

made their prostrations and genuflections, as regularly as a Christian regiment performs a military evolution. Our friend, the Albanian, stood all the time close by, cooking a goat which he had just stolen.

Dec. 3. Ramousses, and fragments of trees, and reeds innumerable, covered the face of the Nile, and went floating down; the silent messengers of a battle, in whose consequences we were involved, and of whose event we were yet ignorant.

In about half a mile some granite rocks come down to the water's edge, and continue, with intervals, for half a mile more. Our direction then was E.S.E.; an island with a few palms begins on our left, and lasts about three-quarters of a mile. A dead camel floated by. In about a mile more, we turned East again, and four or five coveys of Egyptian partridges crossed the river. I never found it hotter in Sicily, Greece, or Egypt, than this day.

In the afternoon, some pilgrims passed on their way to Mecca, and announced to us the victory of the Pasha over the Sheygy'a: they had passed through the army; their holiness or their poverty had been respected, and they were prosecuting their peaceful march amid the bustle and the desolation of war. This welcome intelligence enlivened our warriors extremely, and one of them immediately discovered some horsemen lurking on the other bank; peasants, apparently, on asses, with an old woman.

In about a mile more we came to a fertile island on our left, about two miles long; and soon afterwards, to a very perfect old fortification, built on a rock projecting into the river, of mixed stones and mud, except the higher part, which is of mud only, with seven battlements, and appears to have been lately repaired. The rock, which is sandstone, is singularly marked down to the water, and the marks, though unmeaning, are not, I think, natural*. There is an entrance in the middle of the side facing the Nile, cut in the rock just under the wall, and about thirty feet above the water's edge. Other ruins are on the rocks above it, which continue a few hundred yards by the river-side. Our direction here was E.N.E. A little wind got up, and we made four or five miles more, during which our direction changed to N.E. There are some palms and cultivation on the other bank.

Dec. 4. Early this morning a dead body floated close by us; the back was upwards, and in part out of the water; the head much swelled and uncovered, and the shirt on. The soldiers discovered it to be the corpse of an Egyptian Arab, probably a groom, and four of them went back to bury it; he had been strangled, and the cord was still about his neck; it is probable that he had been taken prisoner by the Sheygy'a, and

* We examined them again on our return, with the same conviction. There is one Arabic inscription on the rock, purporting that a shiek had died there. There is also an old well, about forty feet deep, cut in the rock, within the castle, near the entrance facing the Nile; the gate is on the other side. The place is called *Hettán*.

then hanged. We were told that this sight greatly depressed the spirits of our gallant battalion; and certain it is, that, from whatever cause, we did not make one attempt to advance all day. A very small body of resolute men might, by a well-timed attack, have destroyed the whole of us—in the day-time there was no order, or attempt at discipline, and by night the few men who pretended to watch, were so posted as to be able to see nothing into the country, where were generally trees, or high grass, or corn, and sometimes the watch was placed under the bank itself, which was in some places very steep; the boats were quite close to it, with every soul on board asleep.

We learnt from our servants that we had already, as Christians, two enemies among our fellow-passengers—very peaceable ones, luckily, and very devout Mussulmen—we had to-day the imprudence to make a third. The little invalid before-mentioned, who was also a true son of Mahomet, had been long entirely neglected by his companions, and seemed now so seriously ill as to make some relief necessary to save his life; we advised him to try a poultice, and a succession of these, made and applied by our servants, in a few days completely cured him. The consequence was most natural—he hated us—his hatred increased as his health improved, and after his recovery, he shewed it (in the only way he dared) by a thousand petty attempts to prejudice his companions against us, and to lessen the very few conveniences that we enjoyed on board.

We went out gazelle shooting in the evening with no success.

Persian weed and acacias extend for above half a mile, but there is no cultivation or appearance of houses; there are two mountains, three or four miles within, finely shaped and solitary; the extensive desert on the other side of the river is bounded by a long extent of high hills, distant apparently forty or fifty miles.

Dec. 5. In about two miles we passed a very large ruined fortress among the trees near the shore on our left; we were obliged again to stop opposite to it, as there is a turn nearly northward just above, and the wind blew so hard as to make it impossible to drag up the boats against it; the fine black mountains on the frontiers of Dar Sheygy'a, where the army now was, appeared about ten or twelve miles N.N.E. After a sufficiently bad breakfast, we set off with our guns into the desert; we soon discovered a herd of antelopes making off at a great distance towards the mountains. Mr. Hanbury determined, rather adventurously, to pursue them. I followed for some distance with my servant a valley covered with withered shrubs, at the end of which we observed two women tending a large flock of sheep; the younger of these immediately took to her heels at the sight of us, and was soon out of sight; and with the other, who was singularly old and decrepid, we immediately proceeded to bargain for a sheep: she expressed extreme contempt for Mahommed Ali's piastres, but her eyes shone at the sight of a Spanish dollar; and after counting the four marks*, she said to us,

* We saw frequent instances of the preference given by Nubians and Arabs to the dollars of Charles IIII. over those of Ferdinand VII., from their containing four

"With you I have no acquaintance, but *this* I know well." We learnt from her that there was a large town near, named Amboocote, and thither we proceeded forthwith; it is situated about two miles from where we left the boats, and above one in a straight line from the Nile; this interval is as rich and better cultivated than Argo, and in scenery resembling it extremely. It was covered with all kinds of tame animals; the sheep are the highest I ever saw, and instead of wool have hair like goats*. The village was full of women, and a few old men and boys; the young men, they tell us, have been taken away by the Pasha; the fact probably was, that those who have not been killed in the late battles were with the Sheygy'a, as the inhabitants of this part of Dóngola had been so long tributary to those Arabs, as to have become almost incorporated with them, and to have thus imbibed much of the pride and intrepidity of their character. I was witness to a curious instance of this, while passing through the town. An officer of artillery with three of his men had seized two sheep, and sent for their owner to pay for them; he

straight lines, and the others only two; the fact, and the reason of it, are mentioned by Burckhardt, p. 289.

* This was written long before I saw the passage of Strabo, (book xvii. p. 822.), where, speaking of the Ethiopians, he says, *κωδιοφόροι δ' εἰσιν ἐρέαν οὐκ ἔχοντες, τῶν προβάτων αἰγιτριχούντων.* Diodorus Siculus (lib. ix. sect. 8.) mentions the same fact—*εἰσι δὲ οἱ περιζώμασι μεχρὶ τὸ μέσον σῶμα καλύπτουσι, ἐκ τῶν τριχῶν πλέκοντες, ὡς ἂν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς προβάτων ὄντων μὴ φερόντων ἔρια δία τὴν ἰδιοτῆτα τῆς χώρας*, and Ælian xvii. H. A. 10. *πρόβατα ἐρίων μὲν ψῖλα τρίχας δὲ καμήλων ἔχοντα.*—Strabo is not equally correct in his assertion, (vide loc. cit.) that the breed of sheep is also peculiarly small.

presently appeared—an old man of a most striking appearance, with much savage haughtiness in his eye, a black head quite bald, and a very white beard and whiskers; a very pretty young woman* attended him, and they presented themselves before the Turk, who shortly explained to them his intentions. The old man very firmly and quietly pressed his objections, and the officer took out his purse and threw some piastres on the ground: the old Nubian put them aside uncounted with the greatest dignity and contempt, and telling the conqueror, in the midst of his myrmidons, that he would repent of what he was doing, said, in going away, something very insolent. The officer jumps up, and follows him with his nabboot; and the other, instead of escaping, unexpectedly turns round, and defies his persecutor, who contents himself with picking up the money again, and marching away with the sheep.

The women here have an emphatic manner of speaking, and use much gesticulation, not at all gracefully, and when meaning to be very expressive, they sharpen their voice to shrillness, and the shrill sound alone is often repeated by the other women present, and not otherwise engaging in the conversation; this concert

* The fair Ethiop at first took me for the man of consequence, and addressed me in the smiling seductive manner mentioned by Burckhardt, as peculiar to some women on the Atbara, and which she instantly transferred to the Turk, when better informed. Had the Christian really been the robber, her graces and coquetry might, perhaps, have been more successful; for all open, as Orientals are supposed to be, to the influence of beauty, I could not observe that, in this case, it produced the slightest effect on the hungry Mussulman.

is meant to impress very strongly on the listening stranger the force of what may have immediately preceded it. They are not afraid* of being seen in public, and talking to the soldiers; and though in general very ugly, they are so far from affecting the entire concealment of the person, usual with Mahometan women, that the upper part of the body, down to the loins, is always quite naked†; their hair is as usual greased and plaited, and by some evidently with great nicety. I observed on the more fashionable heads some of the plaits passing backwards, above the ears, under those which are hanging down by the sides, as in some of the figures on the Egyptian temples. They call the soldiers Romans‡—a term flattering to their vanity, as they suppose it to be used in compliment to their courage.

There is a large perfect fortification in the east end of the

* Even in the northern part of Dóngola we found the women less reserved in their manners; they ride and walk about uncovered, talk fearlessly to the men, return your salutation, and sometimes even salute you first. One addressed me in Argo, from between two palms, to know if I had any beads to dispose of. She had probably some dates, or Dhourra flour, to offer in exchange for them.

† In many of the older ones the nipple of the breast, after hanging down very low, turns and grows up again, like a broken branch; from this or some similar deformity, was derived, no doubt, the opinion—"In Meroe crasso majorem infante mamillam."

‡ "Roumy, *i. e.*, Roman; a word first applied by the Arabs to the Greeks of the Lower Empire, and afterwards to all Christians."—*Burckhardt.* To the Turks, even in this case, the term is very far from being applicable, though certainly they are considered by the natives as very inferior to themselves in purity of Mahometan Faith. Is it very unnatural that a white soldier should be called a Roman by the descendants of those who were conquered by Petronius?

town, with a saint's tomb near it. Some soldiers, with a number of Arabs and horses, were reposing at the gate, on their way to join the army by land. One of them was immediately detected by my servant to be a Moggrebyn, *by his accent*, and his own country was as instantly discovered by the other by the same means. The number of Moggrebyns in the Pasha's service has increased materially since the destruction of Algiers, for which its inhabitants bear us no great good will; those, however, whom we have seen, appear good tempered, and, for Mussulmen, very lively, and quite men of the world; they generally speak a few words of Italian, and are of all Mahometans the most free from the prejudices usually proceeding from their religion.

The few Arabs resident here are the Cubbabísh, who are not tributary to any state. Ismael Pasha sent to them on his arrival here to ask, whether they were for him or against him; and as they prudently took the stronger side, he did not molest them; they inhabit the desert towards Shendy.

Dec. 6. We were not much surprised to find, on revisiting the town, that most of the inhabitants, with all that remained of their property, had retired, during the night, so far into the Desert, as to be out of the reach of nabboots and piastres. We were fated to pass the whole day without moving; the wind was blowing nearly down the river, and as we were for the future to be pulled up on the other bank, it was necessary first to sail over, which the Commodore fancied to be impossible with a side wind. In the mean time, he affected great impatience to

advance, and expressed some fears of losing his head for the delays that had already taken place; these fears, however, did not prevent him from accepting a pipe, with which Mr. Hanbury presented him, as being rather better than his own. We were surprised to see how ill our soldiers were provided in this article, which was their greatest source of enjoyment. I observed the Persian making a new short pipe, of a soft wood named *habil;* others were driven to similar resources, as well as to find substitutes for tobacco.

In the afternoon, as I was sitting alone in the boat writing, some Cubbabísh Arabs came on board and paid their respects to me; they were a party of strolling preachers, who go about the villages reading and explaining the Koran, in most of which there is some building set apart for that purpose; the Sheygy'a are said to have destroyed that at Amboocote, before they evacuated the place. The business of these pious men with me was to inform themselves about the rate and manner in which the country was to be taxed; they were anxious to know whether the rich and poor were to pay the same sum, and hoped (calling me, as directed, Osmán,) that I should not be too severe in the impositions I was laying upon them; all which questions I answered greatly to their satisfaction. They assured me that almost all their tribe can read and write. They spoke of Bedoo Arabs, who inhabit the Desert above, but knew nothing of the Bedeyr Arabs, mentioned by Burckhardt; they said, we were now only five or six days from Shendy, and

talked, with an interest almost superstitious, about the antiquities above Merawe. In the mean time one of the soldiers began to crow like a cock, and I observed the rest most ardently engaged at leap-frog; a relaxation from their dignified habits, which can only be accounted for by their joy at the confirmation of the victories of the Pasha.

Dec. 7. We sailed across this morning, as we might have done yesterday, and lost more way, as we had less wind. In about half a mile from Amboocote begins the island Owetah, nearly a mile long. After this comes another, named Galáshi; the houses here were destroyed; one, containing sheep and other animals, had been burnt, and the symptoms of war became more marked. Past this island, which is about a mile and a half long, we went North. Another succeeds it, named Gartooni; there was so much garlic on the shore opposite to it, as to perfume the whole air for some distance. This island is well cultivated, and inhabited; the fields of battle were on both sides; the artillery recognised the grave of one of their own men, and prayed over it; there was much blood near it, though, upon the whole, very few appearances of a field of carnage. We observed a number of the small country boats sunk by the side of the bank.

Just at this spot we left Dóngola, and entered Dar Sheygý'a. The large town of Korti is nearly opposite, on the left bank; and at this moment, Abdin Casheff's cangee, on board of which we had embarked at Dal a great part of our luggage, passed us

at full sail, with the assurance that all was safe. Our direction here was about N.E. A number of the natives, brought in by the soldiers from their labours or their prayers, were yoked to the ropes, and dragged us along with great animation; one of them was a dervish, distinguished by a kind of wickerwork-cap on his head, coming to a point at the top; they were chiefly old men or boys. This island is about a mile and a half long; the Desert is visible on the other side, while the right bank is well cultivated. After an interval of four or five hundred yards begins another island, on our left, named, I believe, Sowerab. We approached the black mountain barrier of the Sheygý'a, and following the shore of the island, presently observed two men, who by their walk were instantly pronounced to be Franks, coming towards us. One of them proved to be Prince Amiro, a Milanese, who is well known to Syrian and Egyptian travellers by the title of the Cavaliere Frediani; the other was a Greek, named Demetrio, by trade a tailor, and very lately and suddenly promoted to the office of Assistant-Surgeon. We asked him some questions, to which his answers contained more lies than words; we contrived, however, to assure ourselves of the disagreeable news, that Abdin Casheff was still at some distance in advance, with the Pasha. We drew up for the night on the island, where six thousand Sheygý'a women were said to be confined.

The Cavaliere shared with us our uncertain repast. He seemed a man of from forty to forty-five years of age, and had

been attached to Ismael Pasha, by his father, as a kind of private tutor or Mentor; for this office he appears to have been selected by the late French Consul, Drovetti, and he accepted it with pleasure, as being extremely favourable to his designs as a traveller and explorer; he was now, as he had been for some time, in disgrace, owing partly to his own great, and probably intemperate, freedom of words and actions, and partly to the intrigues of a fellow Christian.

Ismael Pasha's first physician, or *Protomedico* (as he styled himself,) was a Smyrniote Greek, and as he spoke Turkish perfectly, he acted also as his interpreter. This man, being personally and nationally jealous of Amiro's supposed influence with the Pasha, devised various little expedients to undermine it, some of them so very amusing, that I may be excused for mentioning one. The Protomedico one hot day, meeting the Cavaliere on foot, addresses him with great surprise and warmth: "How strange it seems, that you, the friend of the Pasha, placed in his confidence by his father, the envy of all the Turks about you, should have no horse! Shall I ask the Pasha to give you one?" Cavaliere, "There is justice in what you say; you will oblige me by so doing." Being thus the established medium of all conversation between the two parties, the physician represents the complaint to the Pasha as first proceeding from the Cavaliere, and makes the request. The horse is given. Presently comes the Protomedico in great indignation: "Do you see this horse the Pasha has given you? a very *dog-horse*, a Rozinante (rozzo), a scarecrow; it is equally

disgraceful for a Pasha to have given such a beast, and for a Cavaliere to accept it. Shall I ask him for a better for you?" *Cav.*, "The horse is certainly not a fine one*; pray do ask for another." The interpreter immediately hastens to the Pasha. "The Cavaliere desires me to say, that the horse your Highness has given him is a very dog-horse, *&c.*, (repeating his own words,) and requests you to change it for a better." The Pasha, highly offended with the impudence of Amiro, and yet unable to take back himself a present that he has once made, transfers the horse to the Doctor, without giving any substitute to his insatiable Mentor. And thus is the wily Greek represented to have overreached his competitor for substantial favours in money matters, as well as other affairs, and by his success, to have answered the double purpose of bringing Amiro into disgrace, and becoming master of the presents intended for him.

The Cavaliere had lately made an application to the Pasha, for leave to return, to which he received this singular answer:— that such a permission would only be granted him, on the condition of his writing a letter to Mahommed Ali, expressive of his satisfaction at the treatment he had received from his son. In such awe does a Turkish Prince stand of his father, though at the head of an army at two thousand miles distance from him. The letter was refused; and thus the matter stood on our arrival.

It may, perhaps, be better to anticipate, in this place, some

* And most certainly it was not; it was afterwards in our service, at Djebel el Berkel, and a meaner animal no one ever bestrode.

information, that we afterwards collected, on the objects of this expedition, of which we now found ourselves forming a part, the force and composition of the army, the opposition it had already met with, and that which it was likely to encounter in its further progress. The only persons from whom we could gain any *immediate* information on these subjects, were the Franks, Greeks*, and renegades in the Turkish service, who in general astonished us by their ignorance; however, the principal facts were notorious; many particulars we learnt casually from other quarters. Such an account must necessarily be imperfect; though accurate, I trust, as far as it goes; at least, nothing is mentioned in it which did not come from good authority, with subsequent confirmation.

The ambition of Mahommed Ali is to possess all the banks and the islands of the Nile, and to be master of all who drink its waters, from Abyssinia to the Mediterranean: an ambition worthy of a great Prince, if its origin were not to be traced to his avarice. His designs on Abyssinia he seems to have abandoned, on a formal assurance that an attack on a Christian State, so situated, would probably involve him with the English Government, and he determined to limit his conquests to the kingdoms of Dóngola, Dar Sheygy'a, Berber, Shendy, and

* One of the Greeks, a man high on the Medical Staff, who professed to keep a journal, when asked any simple question about the events of the campaign, usually answered, " L' ho dimenticato, *perchè* lo tengo scritto;" and when invited to consult the writing, pleaded its illegibility.

Sennaar; this plan included the extirpation of his old enemies the Mamelouks, who were in quiet possession of Dóngola. The means he employed appear at first sight hardly adequate to the purpose; the whole force engaged in the expedition being about ten thousand men, of whom not more than four thousand were fighting men: the addition of twelve pieces of cannon made it irresistible. His mercenaries, who form very nearly the whole of his army, are engaged, like servants, by the month, and have then the right of sending in their resignation and retiring. Those going on an expedition, are engaged for the whole of it, but no one is obliged to enter upon it in the first instance; in this, they were paid six months in advance, before they left Egypt, and yet engaged only as far as Dóngola, either through a fear that volunteers would not easily be found for a more distant war, or to avoid giving suspicion to the states above Dóngola. Means were afterwards found to induce them to continue to serve as far as Sennaar; and thus far they seemed to have no fear of success, though such is their terror of the Habesh, that I believe no hopes of reward or plunder could induce them to venture into *that* country.

The best soldiers in the army were about fifteen hundred Bedouins*, part of whom appear to have been natives of a tract

* Descendants of the Armentarius Afer, and differing, probably, from their ancestors in little else than their arms. In all wars in Asia, as well as in Africa, the best irregular soldiers are the Bedouin Arabs; nor is it any wonder that they

of land conquered by the Pasha in his expedition towards the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and part Moggrebyns from the deserts near Tripoli, Tunis, and Morocco; they were all horsemen, and some had bayonets to their guns; they had a peculiar song when moving on horseback, whether alone or in bodies, common to all African Bedouins, but not to those of Syria; they wear in general two brace of pistols, besides their sword and gun, and all are skilful in the use of the lance. The next in merit were the Moggrebyns, a term confined in military language (as well as I could understand) to the infantry, who are natives, not of the deserts, but of the cities on the northern coast of Africa. There were many Albanians, but not in this army forming a separate corps, and many Asiatic Turks, who were also dispersed under different leaders. The Generals were, Abdin Casheff, Kogie Achmet, Commander of the Bedouins, Hassán Dar, Selagh Dar, and Omar Casheff. At the head of the whole was Ismael Pasha, the younger son of Mahommed Ali, and only twenty-two years old; he is possessed of great personal

are the bravest people in the world, since they are naturally the most free. A mere gallop across the Desert produces a certain excitation and levity of spirits, a gay and rapturous feeling of liberty, that cannot be experienced elsewhere.

The naked inhabitant of the Desert is subject to no master, and acknowledges no superior; his very view is unbounded, and all that he views is his own; he can direct his steps whither he wills, and trace his path where no man has trodden before him; the shrubs on which he feeds his horse, and the spring of which he drinks, like the stars that light and guide him, are common to himself with the whole world; he can change them when he chooses, and again travel the waste which he fancies to be infinite.

courage, and much generosity, when it is consistent with policy; he is self-willed and obstinate, as a young Prince ought to be; has some information and much curiosity, and talents apparently so considerable, that he may some day be a great Turk, though a personal defect will ever prevent in him all dignity both of appearance and manners.

The army left Cairo early in the summer, passed the Cataracts during the inundation, and advanced without opposition to New Dóngola, which they found evacuated by the Mamelouks, who had retired, some months before, to Shendy. Their next step was to advance against the Sheygy'a. The character of "this interesting people" has already been given by Burckhardt, though only from hearsay, yet so faithfully, that little remains to be added to what he has said about their manners and their literature. Their love of liberty, and their courage to defend it, had not then been put to the proof, as their wars with the Mamelouks, though frequent and of long continuance, were never wars of extermination; they were only known to be good horsemen, and brave and successful soldiers.

They are divided into four, or (as we were informed) more than four tribes, whose chiefs, however, seem to have been nearly under the government of one of the two Kings, or Maleks, Chowes and Zobey'r, who divided the force of the nation, and were often at war with each other, but always united

in cases of common danger. Malek Chowes is described to be a fat, lively, good-tempered man, and very fair for a Sheygy'a, who are in general jet-black; he was the more powerful of the two, and Mérawe was the name of his capital and his kingdom. Zobeyr was represented as a more violent man; and, since a great victory obtained by an ancestor, fifty-five years ago, at the foot of Mt. Dager, over the King of Argo, he had governed the southern or lower part of Dar Sheygy'a; the name of his capital was Hannech. The united force of these two monarchs was about ten thousand men, of whom more than two thousand were cavalry.

On his arrival at Dóngola, the Pasha sent them orders to submit to the power of Mahommed Ali; they expressed themselves willing to cultivate their ground and to pay tribute. The Pasha then commanded them to prove their sincerity by sending to him their arms and their horses. They simply repeated their former offer. The Pasha replied, that his father had ordered him to make them a nation of Felláhs* instead of a nation of warriors, and renewed his demand. They replied, with a defiance, "Either go on your business, or come and attack us;" and the Pasha moved his troops towards their frontiers.

The first skirmish seems to have taken place near Old Dóngola, when the Pasha and some of his generals, with very few soldiers,

* The name of the labouring Arabs of Egypt, and one of reproach among all their free brethren.

were surprised by a party of Sheygy'a, whom they repulsed. In one that succeeded, Abdin Casheff took prisoner the virgin* daughter of one of their chiefs; he instantly sent her unseen to the Pasha. The young Turk commanded the half-naked savage to be brought before him; he reeeived her with kindness, and asked her some questions about her father; he then ordered her to be washed, and splendidly dressed, changed her ornaments of dollars for others of Venetian gold, and sent her, under a strong escort, back to her father†. As soon as the chief recognised his daughter, and saw how she had been honoured, "All this is well," said he with impatience, "but are you still a virgin?"— She assured him that she was; and when he had ascertained the truth of this, he withdrew his troops, and swore that he would not fight against the man who had spared the virginity of his daughter: an act worthy to be recorded among those sacrifices of public spirit to private feeling, which have ever been condemned by philosophers, and will ever be forgiven by other men.

* The signal for attack among the Sheygy'a, as I believe among other Arabs, is given by a virgin, richly dressed, and seated on a dromedary, who is held sacred even by the enemy. The signal is *lilli-lilli-loo*, frequently repeated. This same sound is used by the women, to testify their joy at a festival, or their sorrow at a funeral. The Greek word ολολυγη was similar in sound and in usage.

† The merit of the action depends almost entirely on the beauty of the Princess. We never saw her; but if she resemble some of her compatriots, whom we have seen, Ismael Pasha is as deserving of immortality as Scipio Africanus. But as durability of glory depends on the historian more than on the hero, the virtues of a Turk may despair of being perpetuated: it was easier even for Rome to give birth to Scipio than to Livy.

This little anecdote was very generally spoken of, and made a great noise in both armies.

About the same time, in order to intimidate his enemy by so wonderful a display of power, the Pasha ordered an exhibition of fireworks. His enemy was less timid, though, perhaps, not less ignorant, than he imagined, and on seeing the rockets shooting into the air, they only remarked, "What, is he come to make war against Heaven too!" and their courage was confirmed by the sight. "You are come against us," they used to shout from their encampment, "you are come against us from the North and from the East and from the West; but we will destroy you." When told by the Ababde, who were escorting the Chief's daughter, that if they did not submit the Pasha would drive them to Sennaar—"He may drive us to the gates of the world; but we will not submit."

Some days after the affair of the virgin, the Pasha, with about three hundred men, was encamped three or four miles in the Desert, on the left bank, not far from Korti. He was suddenly roused in his tent by shouts of "Where is the Pasha?" He was surrounded by three or four thousand Sheygy'a. He sprung on his horse, and rode up to Abdin Casheff in high spirits, and asked him and the other Generals, whether they would fight that day in their own fashion or in his? Abdin answered, that during the many years that he had been a soldier, he had never fought in any other fashion than that of his General. The Pasha then placed the Bedouins and

the Moggrebyns in two divisions in front; and behind the former, Selagh Dar, and behind the latter, Abdin Casheff; with the camels and baggage he formed a kind of rear-guard, and was himself every where. He had no cannon with him, and was, we were assured, so little prepared for this attack, that none of the men had more than sixteen rounds of cartridge, and many much less. Luckily for his life and his glory, the arms of his enemies were of a much simpler kind; they have each two lances, the long Solingen sword, and an oblong shield of hippopotamus' or crocodile's skin; but generally the former. Some of their leaders wore a coat of mail, covering the head, and falling over the shoulders to the middle of the back*. A very few had pistols; but the possession of guns was confined to the Chiefs, and it is a singular proof of their attachment to the weapon of their fathers, that having it always in their power to be tolerably supplied with fire-arms, and having, in their wars with the Mamelouks, than whom none knew better how to use them, experienced their fatal effects, they would never condescend to adopt them.

They are singularly fearless in attack, and ride up to the very faces of their enemy with levity and gaiety of heart as to a festival, or with joy as if to meet friends from whom they had been long separated; they then give the "*Salam aleikoum!*"

* We afterwards saw one of this kind at Argo, belonging to a relation of the Malek, and they are said to be common at Cairo, as the Mamelouks used them. They seem, however, though impenetrable by a spear, to be not so by ball.

"Peace be with you!"—the peace of death, which is to attend the lance that instantly follows the salutation: mortal thrusts are given and received, with the words of love upon the lips. This contempt of life, this mockery of what is most fearful, is peculiar to themselves—the only people to whom arms are playthings, and war a sport; who among their enemies seek nothing but amusement, and in death fear nothing but repose.

In this case, they had motives enough to increase even their natural and hereditary bravery. They had lived the companions of their horses, with the lance in their hand: they were to resign the former to strangers, and exchange the latter for harrows and pruning-knives; and were to drive an ox round a sakie, instead of chasing an enemy across the Desert. They had many Nubians settled in the country, whom they obliged to all the labours of cultivating the ground, and whom they treated as greatly their inferiors. They were now called upon to perform these labours, which they had been brought up to consider as servile, and were to expect no better treatment than that which they had been accustomed to exercise; they were to fall at once to slavery, not from liberty merely, but from tyranny; and again, besides their prejudices against white men generally, they had particular religious ones against the Osmanlies, to whom, in common with Christians, they applied the term *Dog*.

Their first attack was irresistible; the Bedouins were driven back, and Abdin Casheff advanced from the opposite angle of

the square to support them; while he was engaged, the Bedouins rallied in his rear, he returned to his post, and they charged again. The Moggrebyns had been similarly routed and rallied. The Sheygy'a, though suffering very severely, repeated their attacks, and three times was Abdin Casheff seen to charge in person, and throw himself into the middle of the enemy; he shot several of them with his own hand, and having disarmed one, he drove his own lance quite through his body. The Pasha was giving, in other parts, similar proofs of courage, the only one he could now give of generalship, and the pistol of his Highness is said to have been particularly destructive; he caught the gaiety of his enemies, and rode among them with a laugh. At last, the Sheygy'a, finding that their magic had not been able to stop the course of Turkish balls, and that the charms of the enemy were stronger than their own, said, "that God had declared against them," and took to flight. They had placed great dependance on those charms, to which their necromancers* had given, for this occasion, peculiar power and efficacy; and their first act after the battle was to put to death the whole race that had thus imposed on their credulity.

Their cavalry, being much better mounted than their adversaries, in general escaped, but a great part of the infantry was massacred. It is, however, universally acknowledged that the

* The Magicians formed a distinct profession among the Sheygy'a, distinct from their Fakirs and their Shieks, and they lived together in a village near Merawe, named Shibbah.

Pasha exerted himself to save the flying enemy, and succeeded in preserving some, who were of the infantry, and chiefly Nubians; inhabitants of that part of Dóngola which was tributary to the Sheygy'a, and attached to their army by force, or habit, or inclination; for these Arabs were not disliked by their subjects. The Pasha made presents to his prisoners, and clothed them, and sent them back to the Sheygy'a with the insulting message, not to send Berabéras against them, but to come themselves; to which they answered, as when yet unwounded, "Either go on your business, or come and attack us." He had not yet passed their mountain barrier, where they had been in the habit of routing their invaders.

It is a singular, though very certain, fact, that the Pasha had not one man killed in this action, and only one officer and sixteen men wounded, and these, with scarcely any exception, in the back—the natural consequence of their manner of fighting; they discharge all their fire-arms, and then retire into the rear to re-load, while the second and succeeding ranks are firing; when loaded, they advance again, and therefore, after the first discharge the whole is a scene of confusion. One Bedouin received seven lance wounds, not one of which was honourable, and recovered of them all; he had been unhorsed among the enemy, and lanced while lying on the ground.

The Sheygy'a left six hundred men on the field of battle, and they are now lying where they fell, unburied, in the Desert. I am told that the dying expression which remained on the

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faces of most of them was that of anger rather than of terror, and that many had expired with a smile on their countenance. I have heard of some acts of individual courage performed by them during the battle, and which are related with admiration by the Turks themselves. One Arab, who appears to have placed perfect confidence in the strength of his charms, after receiving five balls, continued fighting and crying out, "that they might fire, but could never hurt him;" till he received his mortal wound. The exploits of another are particularly celebrated by his enemies, who, after being similarly perforated, fought till he fell, and died crying "Where is the Pasha?" Another, also wounded, had lost his horse; however, he found his way to the door of the tent of Selagh Dar, whose groom was standing there bitting his master's charger; the Arab disabled the groom, leaped on the horse, and gallopped away. However, such acts are common in all battles; nor are they more admirable in savage than in civilized man. Death is not more terrible in the desert than in the city; it ought to be less so to those who have less to live for.

Yet shall I be pardoned for mentioning these not uninteresting exertions of human energy. The national existence of the Sheygy'a, and their attempt to preserve it, will either never be known, or soon forgotten. In a few years, the next generation, perhaps even the present, will be turning the sakies, and heaving the water-buckets, like the Felláhs of Egypt; and instead of being the Pasha's bravest enemies, will only be

known as his most active slaves. They will have no place in History; their conquerors, more illiterate than themselves, have no writer to preserve their name; for so, they would at least descend to posterity, as a nation of brave robbers*; and even that were better than to be forgotten.

Those who escaped from the battle of Korti, took refuge in some strong stone castles, one of which is built on the site of an ancient temple at the foot of Mt. Dager, on the other bank of the Nile. Their horses are taught to swim across the river in the broadest parts; they are also trained, by a particular jerk of the bridle, to advance by springs instead of any regular pace, making their gallop exactly that of an antelope; they thus prevent the enemy from aiming with certainty, by the uncertainty of their own motion, without impeding the actions of their rider, who is accustomed to it. The Pasha pursued them to their castles, in and behind which were drawn up to receive him these black horsemen of the Desert, darkening (as an eye-witness described it,) the side of the mountain; they were shouting terribly, and seemed awaiting the attack with impatience. This time, the Pasha thought it more prudent to bring some pieces of artillery to bear upon them. A heavy fire of shot and shells, which they were equally unable to avoid and to avenge, quickly dissipated the ardour of these unhappy

* "What are you but a nation of robbers?" said a Turk to them, dufing some negotiation. "Robbers!" was the indignant reply: "Robbers, then, were we born; and robbers will we die."

men, and they appear to have fled without making any attempt at resistance. Yet even in this case (as we afterwards learnt), were their terrors derived from their superstition: a shell fell into one of the castles, and began rolling and bounding about; they collected in numbers to look at it, and were much amused by its motions, till it burst and wounded several; it was then that they fled, exclaiming, "that the Spirits of Hell were come against them, and were too strong for them." To the last they had no fear of man or his inventions; but, astounded by the power and novelty of the means employed to destroy them, they came to the natural, but hopeless, conclusion, that "the Spirits of Hell were come against them." They were pursued by the cavalry and artillery for the whole night; and with what effect, we had afterwards an opportunity of observing. The first halt of the army was at the spot where we found it encamped, about twelve hours from Djebel Dager.

In the mean time, the Cavaliere, who is also a poet, had already celebrated, in Tuscan rhyme, the glory of the conqueror; and whatever be the merit of his composition, it was at least a singular incident to have found the Muse of Italy singing the exploits of a Turk among the mountains of Africa.

A proof that the Sheygy'a, though beaten, had not ceased to be formidable, is, that this morning, as the Chevalier was advancing in his boat, a little a-head of the main body of the fleet, who were not less than sixty in number, he saw first two, and then four, and then two more, of these Arabs, on the right

bank, coming down to water their horses at the river-side; he turned his boat about, and the whole fleet followed him, and we found them drawn up on the left bank, a little above us; his boat only, and a few others, being at the island in the rear of the rest.

We were not flattered with the hopes of experiencing any kindness at the hands of the Pasha; he hates all Franks (it seems), and was determined to have no *freemen* in his army. He had, long ago, and constantly, received information of our movements, had expressed himself unfavourably regarding us, and intended (it was said) to discourage the attempts of any future travellers, by his manner of receiving us.

Dec. 8. Among the various pieces of intelligence given us yesterday evening by the Greek Demetrio, one unhappily turned out to be true, and that was a prophecy; he had told us, in a savage and almost exulting manner, "I shall have to bury a doctor to-night." The invalid was a Piedmontais, named Gentile, who had been many years in the English service, and had an English wife then living at Calcutta; a man of irreproachable character, and by general confession the most respectable Christian in the service of the Pasha: he died in the course of the night, and the Greek had accomplished his prediction before day-break.

We left the island rather early, and crossed over to join the other boats: this led to the usual scene of confusion, during which our boat had the misfortune to run foul of the commodore.

The little veteran seized his stick in his left hand, jumped on board us, and chased the sailors about, to the great diminution of his own dignity, and the unrestrained amusement of all spectators. The scene becomes lively; every stone is a Sheygy'a; a telescope of Mr. Hanbury's is in great request; pistols are cleaning and guns firing; the whole presents an animating mixture of good humour and disorder, full of novelty and interest.

At first our direction was N.; the river is very broad, but shallow towards the right bank. In about half a mile some small islands began to intervene, but the Nile is navigable on both sides of them. Mt. Dager is now on our left; our right side is rich and cultivated, but without palms. In about one mile and a half we passed a village on our left, at the foot of Mt. Dager, and some large buildings, apparently of stone, near it; these are the castles, whence the Sheygy'a were driven by the *mitraille*. The country is all along quite open on the right. In about three miles Mount Dager ends. Being unable, from our weight, to cross to the other side, according to orders, we tied our boat for the night to the left or east bank, with two or three others, though with some supposed danger of an attack; as this bank was not so thoroughly depopulated as that opposite, on which the Pasha had advanced in person.

Dec. 9. Near the river is a village, almost entirely burnt down, and deserted, except by the dogs. In the middle of it is one of those large mud fortresses, of which we had never yet been able to examine the interior. It is a square of about forty

yards, with houses round the inside, though lower than the outer wall, which is very thick, and has stair-cases up to the top. In the middle is a court, in the centre of which is a small square building, with little holes in the wall near the top, higher than the exterior wall, and near it is a large well, lined with stone; the whole building was black with smoke, and every thing combustible in it had been destroyed. The dhourra, which was just ripe, was broken down in every direction, and a dead camel was lying among it. The trees alone preserved their verdure and their inhabitants, and we observed many flights of partridges crossing over from the mountains opposite.

A low bank projected into the water about two hundred yards before our boat; returning to breakfast, I observed a number of soldiers collected on the bank, and went that way to see what had brought them together. They had already left the spot when I arrived, and found there a dead body, just washed to shore, but still in the water. Its back was upwards, the head a little deeper, yet still partly out of water, and "heaving with the heaving billow;" though, as the face was downwards, and the motion rather sideways, in the direction of the waves that occasioned it, the reality did not correspond to the idea one is apt to form from the poet's description. The arms were bent at the elbow, and advanced exactly as in the act of swimming; and as the motion of the water kept them also moving, the corpse had the appearance of a person always swimming and never advancing; the neck was green, and the head and body much

swelled and almost white, appearing as if they had been covered with a black skin, which in most parts had been washed off; no hair was left on the head, the legs were under water, and the sheath of the small knife worn on the left arm still remained there, though the soldiers had taken out the knife; the usual rope was round the waist. The men whom I had met had come with the intention of burying the body; but finding that he was an enemy (for even in that state they pretended to be able to distinguish him from the Arabs in the Pasha's service), they left him to his fate; his fate was not doubtful, for the hawks and the vultures were already wheeling about at no great distance. We returned to the boat, and sent our servants with instruments to drag him on shore, and dig a grave in the sand, and soon afterwards went back ourselves to place him there. We found him extended on the bank, motionless now, and fated to move no more; lifeless and not to be re-animated, and beyond the power of imagination; he was become an object merely of horror, which but for one feeling and one reflection, would have been disgust: the nose and lips had been worn away by the friction of the water, the upper jaw was driven in much within the under, and exposure to the sun had almost instantly changed the colour of the whole body to a deep red. The legs were thin, and not swelled like the rest of the body; the right much bent at the knee, and the left stretched out; there was no visible wound; he had been killed by a ball, or more probably drowned in an attempt to swim across the river. We were proceeding to lay

him in the hole already dug for him, when the soldiers interfered, and some words being exchanged, they pleaded, "that their allegiance to the *Sultan* obliged them to leave all *his* enemies unburied, and swore they would do the same, were the corpse lying before them that of Mahommed Ali himself." We desist, and return to the boat, determined to execute our intention after dark; the vultures soon discover, and approach, and hover about, and alight near him; and I observed one, the hungriest or boldest among them, who walked round and then quite close to the unprotected corpse, but seemed restrained by some sort of fear from touching it; and continued for two or three hours, apparently desiring and hesitating, without daring to commence its unholy feast: the dogs, who were living almost wild among the dhourra, also came near, but shewed the same unwillingness to begin a revel on what had so lately been man. May it be, that the human figure, even thus deformed and fallen from its glory, continued to inspire these animals with a part at least of the respect they had felt for it when upright and breathing? or is there a superstition or a religion*, common in some degree to all the brutes of creation, which awes their approach to the image of their Creator, however degraded and corrupted? Towards dusk a vulture alighted on the body; he was quickly displaced by a rifle-shot, and soon afterwards a boat

* There are stories of the wildest animals having been awed by the steady regard of man—their attack, perhaps, is only to be feared when they are infuriated by hunger, or confinement, or provocation.

passed with a Cadi or Judge (a Turk) on board. He orders two men to bury the corpse. They answer, "It is an enemy."— "And does the Koran teach you not to bury an enemy? for the future read the Koran before you pray: go and bury the body!" and the order was obeyed.

There was another village, about a mile higher up, still larger than this, and in the same state of desolation; some mats and bedsteads were found there, and a number of quotations from the Koran on wood and tile, and two inscriptions, both well written on paper, left over the doors, and purporting 'that the inhabitants had been driven away by force, by unholy people, and not under the protection of God.'

This depopulation of huts and cottages, that marks the course of war through a poor country, presents a spectacle perhaps more deeply afflicting than the destruction of cities or of palaces. Simplicity of houses and manufactures is connected in our ideas with simplicity of manners, with ignorance and with innocence: such a people may have much to move benevolence or even pity, but can possess nothing to excite envy or rapacity; the thirst of plunder becomes almost an excuse for hostile depredation, when compared with the fury of that invader against whom poverty is no protection.

Dec. 10. Yesterday evening we contrived in two hours to perform the labour of crossing the river, after a fortunate rencontre with some peasants, who were returning with their oxen into Dóngola. The oxen were killed, and, in entire

dearth of other provisions, immediately eaten; the life of the men was spared, and they proceeded, upon the whole well satisfied with their adventure.

The country on this (the right) bank was as deserted as on the other, except that in a village near, there remained one old woman, who had refused to leave her cottage with the rest, and stayed to perish with it; she rejects offers of sustenance, and talks lightly of death. The women seem generally to have shared the courage of their husbands and fathers. "Are you not afraid of the soldiers?" said our servants to some of those confined at the island below: "Why should we fear the soldiers?" answered one of them; "Can they do more than kill us?" A quantity of plaited hair was found in one of the cottages, cut off, no doubt, by some widow, on hearing the death of her husband, before she fled.

We observed some of the sailors, who happened to have lost or worn out the very simple vestment which is considered necessary in this country, supply its place by a cincture of acacia leaves attached to the cord worn round the waist: a very primitive* covering, though less effectual than the original fig-leaf.

* Hardly less simple, though more singular, means were employed for the same purpose by the ancient inhabitants of these countries. See Diodor. Sic., lib. iii. sect. 7.: Τινὲς δὲ τῶν προβάτων τὰς οὐρὰς ἀποκόπτοντες ἐκ τῶν ὄπιθεν καλύπτουσι δία τούτων τὰ ἴσχια, κάθαπερ ἄιδω ταύτην προβαλόμενοι· ἔνιοι δὲ χρῶνται ταῖς δοραῖς τῶν κτηνῶν· εἰσι δ' οἱ περιζώμασι μεχρὶ τὸ μέσον σῶμα καλύπτουσι, ἐκ τῶν τριχῶν πλέκοντες. Which is confirmed by Strabo, lib. 16, in his account of the manners of the Ethiopians

A soldier brought in a colossal wild-goose, which he had just shot with ball, and presented it to us: it had the breast grey, the belly white, the tail black, the back a speckled brown, and the head and upper part of the neck a deep brown, and was larger by a third than any one I ever saw in any country. The side of Mt. Dager and the stony ground near it abounds with partridges, which come down in coveys of forty or fifty together to the river to drink; they fly high with much chattering and noise, and are very difficult to approach.

In the course of the day, some of our party made an excursion to the mountains, and found there a village full of old women and children; their attention was excited by the cries of one of the latter from among the dhourra; they went to the spot, and succeeded in rescuing a little girl of ten or eleven years old from the violence of four men, the most active of whom was our friend, the donor of the wild goose. They ask a little boy after his father: "He is dead." He uttered the words mechanically, as if hardly knowing their meaning. A child comes to them, pleading her extreme youth, and claims to be spared and protected. How far such claims were allowed by the other Christians in the army, appears from an anecdote we heard to-day. There was a little boy, who had a very young colt, all that he inherited at the death of his father, and which even the soldiers had left him: Demetrio, the Greek already mentioned, passed soon afterwards, on his return from the camp, whither he had been carrying the news of Gentile's death: to complete his triumph over humanity, he seized the colt, beat

its little owner, and returned to his master glorying in his victory and his spoil.

His master was the Signor Protomedico, who having also come to the rear on account of the same event, paid us a visit in the evening. His object was evidently to become acquainted with our wishes and intentions; and this, like all greatly cunning men, he endeavoured to attain indirectly. It is most amusing to observe how much time and ingenuity are often employed by the tortuous mind of a Greek to arrive at a conclusion, which an answer to a simple question would give him much more surely: what a complicated machine he erects to fathom a rivulet; and how vain he is, if he succeed! However, he was extremely civil, made us some very trifling, though acceptable, presents, and promised to send down horses for us from the army; his manners are extremely smooth, and his behaviour, and even appearance, upon the whole, prepossessing.

Dec. 11. The Persian found one of the Sheygý'a shields, and sold it to us: it is about four feet long and one foot and a half broad, of hippopotamus's skin; it was completely hacked with sabre-cuts, and a ball had passed through the middle. An immense crocodile, apparently fifty or sixty feet in length, lay on a bank near the other side all the afternoon; our rifle would not reach so far, and the report did not even disturb him, and there were no means of approaching nearer. We were detained here all day by the dilatoriness of some of the other boats, who came up in the evening, and whose Reisses furnished the Commodore

with an hour or two of exercise. We heard the blows of his nabboot very distinctly in our boat, though nearly a quarter of mile to windward of the flag-ship.

Dec. 12. Returning to the boat, after the execution of a cannibal vulture, we found our part of it occupied by three very important Turkish-looking men, one of whom saluted us in English. They proved to be an Italian and two Americans; the former, named Rossignoli, was a physician on the staff, and the others were renegades; the more consequential of the two is named Mahommed Effendi—it is said, that he is of a good family*, and that after deliberately weighing, with all the advantages of education, the merits of the two religions, he declared in favour of the Mahometan. He then wrote a book, to prove to all the Christian world how well he had decided, and of which he greatly wishes, we were assured, to obtain the publication in England. He was now an officer of artillery in the Pasha's service; he is a pale, delicate-looking man, of above thirty, and has been successful in acquiring the grave and calm look of the Turks, and the slow motion of the head and roll of the eyes. Two other Americans followed his example, and also (to use

* We afterwards learnt, from one of his fellow-countrymen, that he is a native of Boston, son of a merchant, and educated a Protestant. Since then, besides being for some time a Jew, he has adopted in succession nearly all the opinions that divide the Christian world. He is now an orthodox Mahometan; and, should he survive this expedition, will, of course, turn Wahabee. He will next offer his adorations to Vishnou, and to Fo; and after making the tour of the world and its religions, will be contented to die an Atheist.

the orthodox expression) "*took the turban*," and they have since been heard to express their repentance of an act performed (as they say) at his persuasion. Of their conversion, or rather, transformation, (and it seems to have been almost miraculous,) I can give no better account than by a *literal* translation of one I received from an eye-witness: "One day, at Cairo, I saw pass by two Americans, dressed like common sailors (which they were) in a blue jacket and trowsers; and then, for eight or ten days, I saw no more of them. After that interval, I observe them again, dressed in red, with a white turban on, and I say, 'What thing is this?' (Che cos' è questo?) and I am told, that they have made Turks of themselves; and since, it seems, they have also made gentlemen of themselves." One of these was our third visitor. It is, perhaps, unjust to suspect that the principal object of their visit was curiosity to know on what service we were employed by the Pasha; supposing, as they did very naturally, that it was not a voyage of mere pleasure, that we were making to such a place, and at such a time. Amiro had before met us under the same impressions, except that he was led by his own pursuits to suspect us of being professed antiquarians, as the Americans did, no doubt, of being very able engineers. Their apparent, and perhaps only, motive for being at some trouble to see us, was highly honourable to their humanity. They had, as they fancied, very strong reasons to believe that Gentile had been poisoned, and that Demetrio had administered the drugs, at the instance of the Protomedico,

who intended thereby to escape the payment of eight thousand piastres, which he owed the deceased. They talked of the Protomedico's general character, and mentioned a similar act, which he had notoriously committed at Cairo, by the hand of the very black who had so lately been our fellow-traveller; and, in short, were more successful in proving him capable of such crimes, than guilty of this; for it appears that Gentile's complaint (whatever may have been the cause of it) was a dysentery of some weeks' standing, and that there were no marks of poison to be discovered on the body. Their conviction, however, that such had been his fate, was very strong, and, as it appeared to us, principally founded on extremely slight, though very singular, grounds. During the last hours of the sick man's life, Demetrio was observed to be particularly pressing to obtain from him his pardon: pardon for what? Now, I know not whether it be one of the tenets of the Greek Church, but I have been often assured that it is a general belief among that worthy people, that the pardon of the dying victim ensures the mercy of God to the murderer, who thus whitewashed, without fear, and therefore without remorse, buries the corpse, and goes off with a light heart, to the repetition, perhaps, of so simple an act. Demetrio did ultimately obtain this pardon, and was observed to be in peculiarly high spirits ever after. Be the fact of the murder as it may, their object was to secure the payment of the eight thousand piastres to the widow, our own countrywoman, and this the British Consul was to effect (as they hoped)

by our information. Unwilling to trust our memory on the details of a matter of so much importance, we begged them to make a written statement of the whole affair, which we promised to deliver to the Consul. Rossignoli spoke the most and with the most warmth; though the others were not without anxiety about an act of humanity, in the performance of which they had no visible interest whatever.

Our visitors had walked three hours to find our boat, and, no doubt, expected to be regaled with a hearty English breakfast. Now we had long lived, from day to day, on what fortune brought us, even the Commodore's rice having been some time finished; and it happened that morning, that two small bits of bread formed our whole stock of provision, one of which they had devoured at the moment of entering the boat. Two of our servants were out foraging. We fairly confessed our situation to them; and after staying about two hours, they took their leave. Presently the foragers returned unsuccessful, and the remaining morsel of bread furnished us with our temperate repast. This is mentioned, only because we heard, afterwards, that Mahommed Effendi had complained severely of our reception of him. Now it is difficult to say what reception a renegade has a right to expect from those whose religion he has deserted. We offered him neither insult nor reproach: did he expect cordiality and friendship? or was it in the presence of the corpses left to rot on the face of the earth by those whose

faith he had from conviction embraced, that he thought us likely to respect him and his faith?

We were, it is true, alike natives of a distant land, we spoke the same language, and were in the country of a common enemy; but the nature of crimes is not changed by the sun that burns, or the deserts that surround you; nor can any circumstances of hardship, difficulty, or danger, alter the feeling with which you approach an apostate. And yet it must be confessed, that, to the disgrace of the Christians resident in the East, renegades are, in general, much less despised by them than by the Turks themselves*.

Our servants, in their expedition into the village, found only an old woman alive, with her ears off. The Pasha buys human ears at fifty piastres a-piece, which leads to a thousand unnecessary cruelties, and barbarizes the system of warfare; but enables his highness to collect a large stock of ears, which he sends down to his father as proofs of his successes. The shore is putrid, and the air tainted, by the carcases of oxen, sheep, goats, camels, and men. The latter, in particular, are found every fifty yards, scattered along the road and among the corn; some in an attempt to reach the Nile, and escape by swimming, have been overtaken on the bank, and there killed; others are found with

* These men, in the army, are called, "the English," from the language they are supposed to speak; the name of America is not yet known so far. I am proud to add my belief that there is only one British renegade in Egypt.

their oxen* in the sakies, where they had been labouring together; some near the houses they probably inhabited. Those I saw were generally lying on their back, the legs apart, the knees bent, the body and neck much bloated, horribly offensive to the smell, and of the colour and stiffness of the earth on which they were rotting. Many were so placed as to be hardly distinguishable from it, and we often mistook for a lump of mud what was, in fact, nothing better. The arms were in different positions, but, in general, one was on the breast, and the other often under the neck. They were of all ages; the older ones, and there were many with white beards, had something like a grin, of ferocity or agony, on their faces; the younger, among whom was one boy of fourteen or fifteen, looked very placid, as if they had parted with life more easily. Beyond this I can conceive little variety of expression on the countenances of the dead. On the face which the eye has ceased to animate, the grin of indignation, or contempt, or even joy, can differ but little from that of anguish; and the calmness of resignation, or fearlessness, or innocence, or despair, will be nearly the same—of those that I saw, the mouths

* A great number of oxen were lying dead all along the water's edge; either because, when left at liberty, they gorged themselves with dhourra, and then drank till they died, or because, terrified by the fire and tumult, they ran into the water, and were unable to extricate their feet from the mud. It is not supposed that they were killed either by the Sheygy'a or the soldiers; the former had no time even to save themselves, and as to the latter, I never heard that the Pasha gave any reward for the ears of an ox.

were all open, and of most the dying expression (if ever distinguishable) was now rotted away, as they had been dead seven or eight days. They had died all kinds of deaths; one had been hanged, and the chord, a very thin one, was still about his neck, and his eyes starting from his head; one had his arm broken, and the same, a very fine young man, had a large scar on his face, received no doubt in some former war; the boy had a sabre-cut on the neck, and his head was nearly severed from his body; some had their dust-coloured cloaks on, some only the covering round the waist, and that generally displaced, and others were quite naked: the clear red colour of the flesh of those bodies that had been most exposed to the sun, clear as if transparent, had an effect indescribably horrible. Those whom the birds and beasts had begun to devour (who in proportion to the whole number were very few), were attacked almost exclusively in the wrist and the arm below the elbow, and perhaps the eyes, which, from that cause, or putrefaction, were gone in almost every instance. I saw no body of a woman or child, and am unwilling to believe an assurance we received, that many of both had been massacred. In the midst of the contemplation of such a spectacle, we met a trembling shrivelled old woman, carrying something on her head, who told us, as intelligibly as her agitation allowed her, that the Pasha had made peace with the Sheygy'a, and that multitudes of people were coming down this way. She was not maimed or wounded, but such a picture of human deformity

as I never saw living. The presence of such a being, moving like an evil spirit among the dead, completed a scene already too horrible *.

The place where we had passed our last two days was nearly opposite the end of a small island; two miles above begins another, and continues about two miles more; a large bank projects from the right side towards it, and the Nile is in general very shallow. Two high green islets succeed, where the river widens on one side, and in about five miles we stopped again opposite the end of another island. Both banks are rich and well cultivated, full of villages, with old castles in the desert behind; one near this place the troops found quite full of dates, which by the order of the Pasha they burned. A shield of crocodile-skin, but not impenetrable by ball, was found to-day, and fell into our possession.

I never saw the Nile so smooth and beautiful as in this country; it is like a succession of lakes, ornamented by green islands, and surrounded by verdure—this may be fancy, and that the mind, disgusted by the fury of man, takes refuge in the tranquillity of nature; and is more disposed to the admiration of inanimate things, as it is shocked by the crimes and the miseries of the things that live.

* Giovanni was sick whenever he went on shore, and one of the soldiers was actually taken so ill, while walking over the field, as to require support to return to his boat—an Albanian, too, and probably not unaccustomed to scenes of carnage.

Dec. 13. The island is about two miles and a half long; in a village opposite to the end of it we found a few women and children, with their cattle. They were sitting close together, in a cluster, by the side of a ruined house, and they tell us, "they have no fear, as they are under the protection of God and the Pasha;" though their trembling looks were far from confirming their words. Two of the women were young, and one extremely pretty*; some of the children were beautiful; they really were without fear; they were pleased with the dresses and arms of the soldiers, and smiled ignorantly on the destroyers of their fathers. Little notice was taken of them; but while some of the soldiers are attentive to their mothers and sisters, we observe our friend the Infidel in the act of carrying off a large sheep, of which (to the disgrace of our weak and hungry nature) we afterwards accepted a considerable portion.

Near the end of the island the right bank becomes less fertile, and the cultivation narrower, which from Mount Dager thus far has varied from one and a half to two miles, and not one spot of good soil appears to have been neglected. About one mile and a half beyond, the sandstone rocks come down to the river, and extend

* The Sheygy'a (as I have already mentioned) are black—a clear, glossy, jet-black, which appeared, to my then unprejudiced eyes, to be the finest colour that could be selected for a human being. They are distinguished in every respect from Negroes, by the *brightness* of their colour, by their hair, and the regularity of their features; by the mild and dewy lustre of their eyes, and by the softness of their touch, in which last respect they yield not to Europeans.

one hundred and fifty yards: there are two rocky hills close by the shore with ruined mud castles on them, and some higher stony hills behind; on the top of one of which were some piles of stones, like the *pikes* of the Westmoreland mountains. The cultivation is not interrupted for above two hundred yards. In an excursion among these rocks, Mr. Hanbury found a very large old castle of mixed stone and mud, of about one hundred yards square; the walls are thirty feet thick, and are flanked by several towers. He also visited a more modern fortress, said to have belonged to Malek Chowes: the door is remarkably thick and strong, and has two iron bars on the outside crossing each other at right angles. Within was a part of that king's distilling apparatus, and some dates in a state of fermentation; great quantities of written papers were lying all about the rooms. Near one of these castles was found a living man, with a ball in his jaw, and his ears cut off.

We were arrived about two miles above the island, when some dromedaries met us, sent down for us by the Protomedico; and we soon took leave of the Commodore and our other friends, and mounted. In a quarter of an hour we entered Kadjeba, a large castled town, now utterly deserted by all its human inhabitants. In two hours more we came to the river again, at a rocky place, and where the cultivation, for a little distance, is very narrow. Here are some very fine and curiously shaped rocks, with valleys among them, and houses in the valleys. Here are no antiquities, but all with whom we conversed confirmed the accounts we had

so often received, of the men and monsters of stone to be seen at Djebel el Berkel, the name of the mountain at whose foot the army was encamped.

We met at intervals a number of families returning, by the Pasha's permission, to their villages; a great mixture of animals of all ages formed these interesting parties, on their way to bury the corpses of their friends. There were old men supported by their daughters, and close by them four or five children, stark-naked, mounted on an ass; others were riding on cows. There was as great a variety in their countenances; some looked careless and happy, as if satisfied with the knowledge that they were returning in safety to their homes, and ignorant of the desolation that awaited them there; others had the appearance of extreme misery, as if they were ashamed to have survived the massacre of their friends, and the devastation of their country. Among the latter, at a little distance from her party, I observed a young woman, in whose countenance, besides great beauty, there was something so peculiarly expressive, that I desired my servant to salute and address her: he asked her where she was going. There was a natural dignity and pride in her manner, too deep either to be counterfeited or described, as she answered, "I am going to inhabit the house of the Pasha." She spoke with hesitation, as if she would willingly have expressed herself otherwise, but the house of her ancestors she dared not call that, which was in the possession of an enemy—the house of her husband she would gladly have said, but he was dead. She passed on and joined her party.

A. Aglio. del.

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DJEBEL EL BERKEL.

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In one hour more we came at last to the city of Malek Chowes, MERAWE; it is similarly built, but much larger, than Kádjeba. It was now nearly dark, and in passing through its long and gloomy streets, between the thick mud-walls, we were assaulted by multitudes of half-starved dogs, whose howling in the absence of all other sound, and whose adherence to the habitations which their masters had deserted, increased the dreariness, if not the solitude, of the place. Our guides here desire us to keep close together, and we advance for nearly an hour towards Djebel el Berkel, whose outlines are visible in the moonlight. At such an hour as this, and under such circumstances, we would willingly have made our first visit to the Sacred Rock, which we had long hoped was to be the reward, and perhaps the termination, of our labours. We approached near enough to see some of its fragments and projections, which by the uncertain light we mistook for columns and colossi; but all nearer examination was prevented by our guides, who obliged us to avoid the mountain, as well as the trees by the river side; as two soldiers had been murdered two nights ago by some of the natives, concealed there for purposes of plunder or revenge, and who might still be hid among the caverns of the rock. We therefore steered a middle course, and soon after heard the cannon from the camp, which we entered by the quarter of the Ababde, in five hours and a quarter from our leaving the boat. The distance is about sixteen miles in a N.N.E. direction.

We found the land universally rich and well cultivated, and

nowhere more so than near the camp, where the water from the sakies is frequently distributed by four channels, side by side, generally elevated by woodwork or stones, as neatly put together as in Egypt.

The Protomedico had prepared a tolerable mud cottage for us, and incense to perfume it, while supper was preparing; he received us with politeness, and assured us that the Pasha was anxious to see us. We were sorry, however, to learn that Abdin Casheff, to whom we intended to have paid our first respects, was encamped on the other side of the river, a few miles in the rear of the Pasha.

An incident had just happened strongly characteristic of uncivilized warfare, the course of which is usually marked by a mixture of the extremes of generosity and barbarity. The remains of the Sheygy'a, still strong in cavalry, were stationed about a day's march higher up the river than the Pasha; and this morning the son of Malek Chowes arrived at the camp with an escort of a hundred men, and a present of five horses, craving his highness's permission to remain there till such time as he should be cured by the physicians of a wound which he received in the late battles. The Pasha promised him all possible attention, and desired the escort to assure his father, that, when restored to health, he should be sent back to fight again. The young prince was a short stout lad of about sixteen, in appearance and dress like his father's meanest subjects, and only to be distinguished from them by some ornaments on the hilt of his sword. His wound was

in the foot, and not severe; but the Sheygy'a have no method of curing gun-shot wounds. One or two bodies were found of men who had forced tow or rag into them, to prevent bleeding to death; the blood had found its way out at the mouth and nose, and even at the eyes, and thus had they only changed the manner of their death, and taken pains to procure one more painful, and not less certain.

Happening to go out late at night, to breathe a little fresh air in the court before the door, I heard, to my unspeakable surprise, some people in a neighbouring hut singing and playing "God save the King!" In the heart of Africa, in the centre of a Mahometan army, surrounded by Turks and Greeks, and slaves and renegades, to hear the song of my country; and thus, and so suddenly, to be reminded of the land which contains all that is most dear to myself, all that is most noble in the world—I could only lean and listen by the soft moonlight, till the rude minstrelsey was finished, and then retire, with the consolation that to-day at least had not been lost to happiness.

Dec. 14. The Pasha being on the other side of the river, and the Deftar Dar commanding on this, it was necessary (as the doctor assured us) to begin by paying a visit to him. He went himself to present us and interpret for us. The Deftar Dar is a proud-looking and rather handsome young Turk, and we found him sitting in a small tent, much crowded, notwithstanding the heat of the day. He received us indifferently enough, and without paying us any attention began

a conversation with the doctor in Turkish, which it was easy to discover was of no very friendly nature; and though no indecent anger was shewn, it soon became a very warm dispute. Ignorant of the language, we were much interested in observing the countenances of the disputants; and never was there a finer contrast than that formed by the changeable, flexible, moving features and small cunning eyes of the Greek, with the gravity and composure and dignity of the Turk, whose natural violence of temper was only betrayed by his eye; you saw, in this contrast, the characters of the master and the slave. We afterwards learnt that the quarrel was about the very camels which had brought us to the camp. The Greeks had told us a boasting story, that on their return to the camp, the night after the Protomedico's visit to us, they had fallen in with a large party of natives among the corn-fields, loading their camels with dhourra, to be carried to the enemy; that they had charged and routed them, and taken six camels and three or four men; that they had presented the spoils to the Pasha, and his Highness had released the men, and given the camels to the warriors who had so gallantly taken them. This very morning, while standing near our quarters, I was saluted by an upright, grey-bearded old native, who, in a respectful, but determined, manner, seemed to be making some request to me. I was going to call for an interpreter, when Demetrio appeared with a large stick in his hand, severely beat the old man, and turned him out of the court-yard. The noble Arab bore this chastisement haughtily, and with the

air of a person more accustomed to command than to obey. It proved that he was the owner of the camels, and that he then went to the Deftar Dar, to reclaim them, which led, first to the dispute between him and the doctor, and afterwards to the restitution of the camels (whose seizure was proved to have been an indefensible act of robbery), to the honour of Turkish justice.

As we were not more courteously treated by the Head-Treasurer, after the dispute, than we had been before it, we soon took our leave. He is said to be a man of no family, and little estimation at Cairo, and to have been raised by some fortunate circumstances to the high situation that he holds here.

We spent the next three or four hours more pleasantly, in a visit to Djebel el Berkel, returned to an early dinner, and set off to see the Pasha in the evening. A very small country boat, containing nineteen passengers, conveyed us to the island opposite, which is chiefly a long bank named Nain, and hence we were transferred to the other side in the Pasha's own cangee, which was obliged, in the want of all lighter craft, to act as a ferry-boat. After waiting a short time in a small tent near, that served for an antechamber to the place of audience, we were admitted to his Highness. We were presented by the Protomedico, who acted as interpreter, standing all the time. The Pasha made us sit on the same sofa with himself, and began by desiring us to put ourselves at our ease and arrange ourselves in the European manner.

The conversation commenced, of course, with compliments to the Pasha on his victories, his humanity, and his courage, and this subject gradually led to a comparison of European with Turkish warfare; the numbers generally engaged in the former rather confounded him, and it would have been difficult to persuade him that his own battles were at all comparable to those of Napoleon. He asked some sensible questions, and had an evident desire to be well informed on European politics; and this he will find extremely difficult, as he can scarcely propose any question to which he will receive the same answer from the natives of different kingdoms.

He had been assured by the Americans, that if Buonaparte could effect his escape to their country, he would have little difficulty in regaining all his power; and by some other person (probably an Austrian), that all the subjects of all European governments were perfectly free. He inquired about Ali Pasha of Albania, whose success against the Porte he evidently desired, and expressed surprise that the English did not assist him. A reported war between the Swedes and Algerines also interested him; he was acquainted with the position of Sweden, and tolerably well master of the geography of Europe. But the subject on which he entered most warmly was the military force and power of Russia (a subject afterwards introduced to us by Abdin Casheff also), and he asked us why the Congress had allowed it to be so materially increased? We had not answered this question, when his private secretary desired an

audience, and so we took our leave. We were with him above two hours, and but for this interruption, should probably have remained much longer, as he seemed not at all tired of the conversation, which he had supported with great readiness and interest. His manner is much against him, and by a defect in the roof of his mouth, his articulation is extremely impeded, and his language becomes a succession of discordant sounds, the singular effect of which, on a person not understanding them, is much increased by the rapidity of his utterance. He wears no turban, and only a red cap turned up with yellow, with a gold cord round it—a deviation from Turkish fashions, which by no means increases the dignity of his appearance.

Dec. 15. We set off early to visit Abdin Casheff, and being assured that we could cross the river opposite to his encampment, we went down on dromedaries on this side. The doctor sent to guide us, as he had promised, a faithful servant of his own; and our surprise may be conceived, when, in the person of this confidential attendant, we recognised our former fellow-traveller, the black slave, whom we had so justly dismissed from our society, and left running towards the Desert with a boat's crew after him. It appears that he had outrun his pursuers, and afterwards obtained a passage in one of the boats in the same fleet with ourselves; he was long ignorant that we were so near him, till it happened, one meagre day, that the dog Anubis, making a tour in quest of food, boarded his boat, and was instantly recognised by him. He

left the fleet the same evening, and going forward on foot, reached the camp three days before us. He implores our pardon, or at least our silence, and kisses Giovanni's hand in proof of forgiveness for the chastisement he had received from it; and as he had already suffered much for an offence by which he gained nothing, we made a merit of not telling his master of an act, which would not have lowered him in his opinion.

The place of Abdin's encampment was called Sannab; and on arriving opposite to it, we found that there were two or three islands in the river, that almost intercepted the view of the other side, and prevented all easy communication. We expended much powder in useless signals to the boats opposite, and after passing a couple of hours in waiting for an answer to them, we returned by way of Djebel el Berkel. Mahommed (the name of the black) was extremely useful to us, having passed all his youth in Dar Sheygy'a, as the slave of Malek Chowes, and being in consequence well acquainted with the country. He was naturally a very active and intelligent fellow; violent in temper, insolent to his inferiors, daring and desperate, and capable, and probably guilty, of every crime*: these qualities had recommended him to the Protomedico, in whose service he had been engaged for some time, though now no longer his slave. He was accused of having once administered poison for his master at Cairo, and the story becoming notorious, the Turkish judges

* This agrees with Burckhardt's account of the general character of Darfour slaves.

endeavoured to discover the truth by force of clubs; the black received a thousand blows of the nabboot*, without confessing his crime or betraying his master, or convincing any body that he was innocent. He was not of less use here than at Cairo, though perhaps rather more creditably employed; as he knew the country, and the secret hoards of the inhabitants, he was mounted on a light dromedary, handsomely dressed†, and sent out, day and night, into the villages, to bring in slaves (for the Sheygy'a had many), or any other kind of plunder.

He gave to-day a remarkable proof that he could exert his capabilities, if necessary, in a good cause. When we were near Djebel el Berkel, it was discovered that an attaghan belonging to Mr. Hanbury had been lost during our return. We had

* At Assouan, on our way down to Cairo, Mr. Hanbury, in going to pay a visit to Achmet Pasha, found a crowd collected before the tent. A soldier was presently thrown on the ground, held by the head and feet, and beaten by two men, one on each side, with the nabboot. The executioners exerted all their force, and had the appearance of men threshing corn or sledging iron. For about a hundred and fifty blows, the man cried, *Amaun, Amaun,* and repeated the names of Ismael, Ibrahim, and Mahommed Ali; his supplications became gradually more faint, and then ceased altogether: not so the labours of the Janissaries, who, relieving each other, to the number of nine, continued to administer above one thousand blows, during the last seven or eight hundred of which they were beating an apparent corpse. The body was then taken away, and succeeded by another, who was similarly treated. The Pasha, a very young man, apparently under twenty, sat looking on with perfect calmness, smoking a pipe and smelling a lemon. The offence was desertion; and both the sufferers were Shereefs, or Descendants of the Prophet.

† The Protomedico is not slow in rewarding the services of his creatures. Soon after Gentile's death, Demetrio was admitted (we were told) to the honour of his table—for what service, was only suspected.

been nearly all the time on the high road, and had met with many and large parties of Sheygý'a returning to their homes, who would of course find the weapon, and naturally consider every thing hostile as fair spoil, and who*, even so near to the camp, were much more likely to defend than to betray each other. So we considered its recovery quite hopeless. The black volunteered on the service, and returned in pursuit of it. This was in the morning; and, very late at night, nothing more had been seen of him; his master expressed little anxiety about him, and contented himself with assuring us that he would not return without it; and, in fact, the next morning he did return with it, having passed a day and a night alone in the midst of an exasperated multitude, detecting the theft of one of them.

The geographical information that we were enabled to collect about this country, was derived partly from this man, and partly from such of the natives as we had opportunities of questioning. The kingdom of Malek Zobeyr extends from Djebel Dager to Zoom, and contains Wady Baheet, Machfoor, Hannech (the capital), Magásh (the name of the wady and town), and Zoom. Then comes the district of Mek Medineh, which contains Choorro, Dette, where the large castle is, and Kadjeba, the capital. The next place is Toraif†, the first town of Malek Chowes, King of Mérawe, which extends as far as

* An instance of this will be given in its place.

† All the towns here mentioned are on the right bank; but the limits of the different districts, on the other bank, are always opposite to those on this.

Kasinger the other way; the chief towns in it are Toraif, Wallad Grait, Dabazzeit, Merawe, Wallad Ali, Assoon, Shibbah (the residence of the magicians), Berkel, Kereen (where was our encampment), Gerfel Hamdow, and Kasinger*. After this comes the kingdom of Malek Hamet Wallad Asla, called, like its capital, Amri; it is a rocky district, and extends three days to the frontiers of Berber. Its chief towns are Zowera, Amri, and Doum el Goozár. There is a cataract near Zowera, and above the cataract is the little island of Doulgá, "where the buildings (as a Sheygy'a told me) reach to heaven." We were afterwards informed that it is quite surrounded by these buildings, and itself perforated like the Grotto of Pausilipo at Naples. From all accounts, I should suspect that these buildings are rather fortifications than temples, and that this is the island where the king of Dóngola, Samamoum, took refuge, in 688, A.H., against the troops of the Sultan of Egypt, whose five hundred boats were prevented from pursuing him by the rocks, the first that exist above Dóngola. Now fifteen days, the distance of those rocks from the city, is not, as we discovered by sad experience, too long an allowance of time for a Turkish fleet to perform even so short a voyage. This country appears, then, at that time, to have formed part of the territory of the Nouba king, because, when obliged to fly three days farther, he is *then* said to have got beyond his own kingdom,

* Can this be the Karsendjou, or Kassendjer, mentioned by Burckhardt, (App. III.) as having been visited by Ibn Batouta?

and there too is the present extremity of Dar Sheygy'a. This would seem to prove that these Arabs have got possession of their country since that period, as it is not probable that they were ever subjects, and the most faithful ones, too, of a Nouba and Christian* king. We heard, indeed, once of a tradition, that the Sheygy'a had taken this country from its inhabitants about six hundred years ago, and that their origin was from Mecca; but we never after either had this account confirmed, or received any similar one, and never had an opportunity of questioning any learned inhabitant.

The army was by no means healthy; and, though cases of ophthalmia were of late become rare, and some of very long standing had, as we were assured, gone off without remedies since the arrival of the troops in the dry air of Dóngola, there were yet many sick of dysenteries and intermittent fevers. Now the largest medicine bottle was filled with butter; there was a deficiency of bandages for the wounds, of the commonest medicines, and of scales to weigh out the little that there was; they had no ipecacuanha, and their bark was so deficient in quantity, or in quality, that the Protomedico condescended personally to ask Mr. Hanbury for a little of his *China famosa*, though we had scarcely enough left between us to cure one tertian, should any of the party be unhappily so visited. On our expressing some astonishment at this utter deficiency of necessaries, he whispered that he had a small reserve of all of them, "per i grandi." It is

* See Burckhardt, Appendix III.

right to add a fact, of which we were repeatedly assured, that, previous to the departure of the expedition from Cairo, he received thirty-six thousand piastres for the medical chest, which he immediately laid out in paying his own debts. Besides this, his skill in the healing art is extremely doubted; he had even been heard to acknowledge his ignorance of it, and had sometimes employed Arab surgeons to attend the sick for him: and it is said that Gentile was the only man on the staff capable of performing an operation of any difficulty. It was not likely that the Pasha was ignorant of all this; but the Greek had other useful talents, which supplied the place of honesty and medical skill; he had sold and devoted himself to the Pasha—"You beat others when you like, and when I like I will beat you," was the understanding which (by his own confession) subsisted between him and his master. He therefore acted notoriously as his spy, and agent in all underhand affairs; and in that capacity, for which his impudence and self-possession eminently qualified him, he was employed, no doubt, to entertain us; however, as we received our own rations, and had our own servants, we were free from all obligations to him, and lived in hopes that our residence in his vicinity, and in apparent dependance on him, would soon be at an end.

Dec. 16. Among the antiquities of Djebel el Berkel, are a number of pyramids, which we were curious to penetrate, if possible, and examine the interior; the doctor offered himself as a kind of partner in the speculation, as he considered it, and

undertook to request the Pasha's permission. Whether he was serious in his intentions, or wished only to sound us or the Pasha—in short, whether he ever delivered our message, or whether the answer given was really the Pasha's, is known only to himself: the answer was, "that his Highness begs us to defer our investigations for ten days or a fortnight, in order not to increase the belief, already too prevalent, that the Osmánlies are idolaters, which might influence the Berbers, who are now advancing with the intention probably of submitting."

We passed a laborious morning in measuring, planning, and drawing; and in this employment were found by Cavaliere, who, having come up all the way by water, was but just arrived, and was now making his first visit to the antiquities.

Dec. 7. (Sunday.) The hut in which we had passed the last three days, and which, at first sight, pleased us so much, measured fifteen feet by nine, and was about seven feet high, with no light, except the little admitted through a low door; the walls were of mud, and very thick; and the flat straw roof was supported in the middle by a crooked branch. We had slept always four, and last night five, in it; to-day we were to shift our quarters to the other side of the river. Some differences, which had for some time existed between the Pasha and Abdin Casheff, were to be reconciled by a visit of the latter, which would perhaps afford us an opportunity of paying our respects to him; these variances had their origin in this: Abdin demanded permission to return to his government of Dóngola, to which he had been

appointed by Mahommed Ali; this Ismael refused, having himself great need of his counsel and courage; they submitted the affair to Mahommed Ali, who decided that Abdin was to advance with his son, as long as his services should be required by him; and Abdin, though sufficiently incensed by the decision, was this day to bring up his division to join the main body of the army.

After crossing the river, while they were pitching a tent for us, we received a visit from the Cavaliere, under a tree, the Protomedico being present: angry looks were given by the one, and received with the greatest indifference by the other, and offended pride was successfully opposed by perfect unconcern; they had no dispute—but, afterwards, each thought it his duty to advise us, privately, to put no confidence in the other. Our tent was very clean and comfortable, and beautifully situated by the river-side, among the palms, looking towards Djebel el Berkel; it was also extremely quiet, for the middle of a camp. The absence of all music, except the occasional tambour, and of almost all military parade and exercise, makes a Turkish encampment a most peaceable residence; and but for the discharge of the morning and evening gun, and the song of the Bedouin occasionally riding by, we should rather have fancied ourselves in some tranquil place of repose, than in the midst of a most merciless war.

Dec. 18. The quickest express to the army, from Cairo, came in sixteen days, and brought a letter, running thus:—

"My son!—I send you your share of the pears, which are just ripe; your brother and myself have found ours very good.—Mahommed Ali." The pears came with the letter, and are said not to have suffered in the journey. Despatches of great importance are intrusted to great men, and therefore seldom arrive under twenty-six or twenty-eight days; of the rate at which necessary supplies and reinforcements advance, we had ourselves some experience.

We received a visit from the Americans, no otherwise interesting than that, the Smyrniote being present, we saw natives of Europe, Asia, and America, assembled under our tent among the palm-trees of Africa.

A common soldier soon afterwards entered, with little ceremony, and seated himself by us; and when we inquired the object of his visit, he professed it to be mere curiosity to learn what trade we were come to exercise; our answer did not satisfy him, and he retired incredulous.

This afternoon we paid our long-desired visit to Abdin Casheff. He came to the door of his tent, and received us, in the presence of his Janissaries, with the greatest distinction; he then seated us on his right hand, and questioned us in a very friendly manner. He is a very fine man, and perhaps about fifty, with some grey hairs in his beard, otherwise of the deepest black, a large and very expressive eye, and, for a Turk, unusually quick, and a noble physiognomy. We presented our letters to him, which he opened and looked at, as usual, just

long enough to convince an unsuspecting observer, that he could read them, if his indolence or his dignity would allow him; he then handed them to his secretary. Now, one of these letters was to obtain us money, of which we were in immediate want, being reduced to our last dollar; and on this account, as well as some others, we did not wish the doctor to be present at the interview; we had previously told him, that we had private business with Abdin Casheff, to whom he was intending otherwise to have himself presented us, and he accordingly promised not to interrupt us. The promise made by the Protomedico was inconsistent with the duties of his second profession, and as Protospione he broke it. Just as the secretary was beginning to read, he presents himself, with an unblushing countenance, and seating himself with perfect ease and satisfaction, proceeds to converse with Abdin on indifferent subjects. I never saw a Greek, quick and ingenious as they generally are, whose talents were not far exceeded by his impudence; they have all the vices, and not any of the virtues, of the Turks; they hate and insult the Franks, who come among them with feelings only of friendship; they are situated at the extremity of civilization, and are the dregs of Christianity*.

* This passage, like the greater part of the book, was written on the spot, and under the immediate influence of the feeling by which it was dictated. For having published it at such a moment, I may be subject to a variety of observations, of which one only will affect me—that the remark is trite, and the fact notorious. I entered the Land of Miltiades and Leonidas with an enthusiasm that was to be speedily quenched by the degeneracy of its present possessors. I entered

My friend, from being a good smoker, bore this intrusion with more tranquillity than myself. I also appealed to my pipe for philosophy, but found that from neglect it was already extinguished. My only consolation was, to observe an unusual degree of meanness in the countenance of the Greek, proving that he felt how contemptible was the office which he knew himself to be now discharging; and this was one feeling more than I supposed him capable of.

Abdin said many civil and complimentary things to ourselves and our nation, and promised us every assistance; but as he did not offer us a tent in his own encampment, we returned with reluctance to our quarters near the *Temple of Æsculapius.*

I had a long conversation this evening with an intelligent native. There is a city in the Desert, called, "The Garden of Gazelles," just so distant from here, that "if a man drink before he leave the Nile, he arrives there when he wants to drink

the land of the Grecians, and I found it occupied by Greeks; and while I lamented that slavery which was the great cause of such universal depravation, I detested the people who seemed to repose under it so patiently. But when returning through the seas of Greece, I found them once more in the hands of their natural lords—when I saw a flag waving there, on which the cross is erected on the crescent, and the letters, H TAN H ΕΠΙ TAN are shining in gold—a flag that no Infidel will ever haul down—the reminiscences of ancient days, mixed with the dreams of the future, were revived with an ardour to which it would have been impious not to have yielded. Who shall examine the private character of combatants engaged in the cause of religion and of liberty? Are they superstitious, ignorant, treacherous, cruel, faithless, avaricious? They *were* slaves—they *have* made the first great step towards regeneration; and whoever is not an enemy to the amelioration of the human race, must join in the general prayer for their success.

again." He confirmed our previous information of a chain of mountains beginning just below Korti, through which there is a pass of three days towards Shendy, (which place he pointed to as S.S.E. from here,); at the end of this chain are some small excavated temples, or grottoes, with figures and pillars; from this place there are two days more to Shendy. The mountains are inhabited by the Hassanaye Arabs, who are not under the Sheygy'a, and even made an attempt lately to get possession of the left bank of the Nile*, and some of the islands. Malek Chowes repulsed them, but could not pursue them into their country; they are said to be rich in flocks, camels, and horses. The place of the antiquities is called, by distinction, El Djebel, or Djebail.

Dec. 19. Besides the antiquities at the foot of Djebel el Berkel, there is another body of pyramids, a few miles higher up the river, called El Bellál, or "The Fabric." We devoted to-day to the examination of them. We were well mounted, and an escort of ten men was offered to us, which we declined, (not, I believe, very prudently,) that we might be more thoroughly at liberty to follow our own plans. We

* The same disputes for the banks and islands of the Nile took place between the natives of the country on either side, among the old Ethiopians. See Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 822.: Ξυμβαίνει δὲ τοῦ Νείλου τὴν μεν δυσμικὴν (δυσικήν. δυτικὴν) παραποταμίαν ἐχόντων τῶν Λιβύων, τὴν δὲ πέραν Αἰθιόπων, παρὰ μέρος αὐτῶν επικράτειαν εἶναι τῶν νήσων καὶ τῆς ποταμίας, ἐξελαυνομένων τῶν ἑτέρων καὶ παρα χωρούντων τοῖς κρείττοσι γενυμένοις.

returned towards evening, and found that the doctor had not been idle in our absence.

The Signor Rossignoli above-mentioned, and an apothecary named Paolo, came down this morning to the boat, the present residence of that skilful man, entered it boldly, and then most abruptly and directly accused him of having poisoned Gentile: he employed few words in anger or justification, but shortly directed his myrmidons to beat these intruders. Rossignoli escaped on shore, but Paolo, not so fortunate, underwent severe discipline at the hands of Demetrio; there was afterwards a struggle with Rossignoli for his sword, in which his hand was understood to have been severely bitten; one thing is certain, that, on the doctor's approaching him, Rossignoli drew that sword, and but for the speedy retreat of the other, would have most effectually avenged his friend; though we were assured, that it was by an involuntary motion of his hand that he did so, and more in fear than in anger; for Rossignoli is a man (as he was characterized to us by one of his countrymen,) "who, if an infant were to raise a straw against him, would run away for three days."

The doctor met us on our return, told us the whole story with great glee, and excused these Turkish measures by necessity and the want of other redress. Presently appears Demetrio, quite insolent from his triumph over two old women, and exclaims, with brutal satisfaction, "Di quà in avanti tutto si fa col bastone." The Greek had forgotten, when he took the

stick in his hand, that it was for his back that the weapon was made, on which he no doubt bears the marks of it. In fact, Rossignoli and Paolo found an interpreter, and went to lay their grievances before the Pasha, who, faithful to his engagement with his slave, turned them out of the tent unheard.

Some readers, I fear, will be already wearied with these little details of the intrigues of a Turkish camp; they are, however, interesting, as they serve to expose the manner in which Christians conduct themselves in a Mahometan camp and among Mahometan enemies; where every motive would seem to invite them to union, at least, if not to probity—that if the latter be too difficult for them, they may still acquire some little respect by the former. To this general corruption, faithlessness, and venality of those in the service of the Turks, may be, perhaps. attributed the contempt which, judging from the specimens presented to them, they have imbibed for all Christians. I ought, perhaps, to except the English, and there are several reasons for that exception: there is fear of the destroyers of Algiers, and even gratitude to the liberators of Egypt; besides which, Englishmen do not appear in the East, like many Italians, and even French, in the character of adventurers. English travellers demand respect every where; those of other nations are more anxious about the manner of paying it. The Turks fancy that we have many qualities in common with themselves—pride, generosity, courage; and, above all, they have a very general opinion that we are not above half Christians, and therefore

approach by so much nearer to the creed of the Faithful, than any other Europeans.

An important addition was made to the medical staff to-day, by the arrival of the brother of the Protomedico. He immediately came to pay us a visit; he had only one shirt, and that so overpeopled, that numerous emigrants from it were observed crawling about the tent, even before he had left it: we dispensed, in consequence, with his future civilities. This man was expected to be chosen, by his brother's intrigues, physician to Abdin Casheff. The person promoted to succeed poor Gentile was a Greek named Petrarcha; he had escaped from Cairo, in debt eight thousand piastres to the Russian Consul, being a sum of money of which he had robbed a Russian Colonel travelling in Egypt. He was lurking at Esneh, when his compatriot passed by with the army, and instantly took him into his service: at Assouan, he picked up another Smyrniote, who shall be nameless, and who had fled thither for similar reasons; and somewhere else he discovered the inestimable Demetrio, and transformed him instantly, from a tailor, into an able medical assistant. His servants are similarly selected; and, surrounded by this desperate band, faithful because entirely dependant on him, he assumes airs of audacity, and was heard once to boast, before many Turks,—"My men are villains, you say: now I love villains; but they are villains for me, and not for others; and if any one seek my life, and I say to one of my villains, 'Shoot that man,'—he shoots him." Another advan-

tage he gained by adopting these outcasts was, that their only pay was the privilege of plundering under his auspices; so that he was enabled to apply to his own use the stipend allowed for them by the Pasha. Such are the "*necessary dogs*" whom the Turks are reluctantly compelled by their own ignorance to admit into their service.

In the mean time, the Turks and Sheygý'a were in constant negotiation. Malek Zobeyr's nephew came to the camp to-day, and was presented to the Pasha, who gave him a red pelisse and a Cashmere shawl, and sent him back highly honoured. Thus are the remains of these poor Arabs allured to submission, and when they shall be peaceably dispersed over the country, the most powerful and the bravest will be successively disposed of*. The doctor assures us, that if the Mamelouks can ever be prevailed upon by any promises to surrender, they are to be destroyed this time by poison†, which he professes to consider as the surest and safest way of disposing of an enemy.

* The fate of the remains of the cavalry of the Sheygy'a was not quite what we had anticipated. We heard it from the mouth of Mahommed Ali himself, during a visit we paid him on our return to Cairo. Soon after our departure from the camp, it was agreed, that the greater part of them, retaining the horses and arms for which they had fought, should enter into the service of Ismael Pasha, and advance with his army against the southern nations, who were also their own enemies. They are thus become the allies of their conqueror, and are not yet his slaves; and the courage, which merited victory, has at least obtained them a respite from servitude.

† I am uncertain whether so horrible a premeditation of treachery, though not in itself improbable, ought to be believed on such authority.

We were awaked out of a sound sleep to receive a communication, which surprised almost as much as it displeased and offended us. The Pasha is determined, for a variety of good reasons, to dismiss us, with great honour, from his camp, and we are to be in readiness to depart to-morrow evening.

Dec. 20. A little orphan girl, the whole of whose dress was a cincture of leathern thongs round the waist, came by mistake into our tent, to be cured of epileptic fits. She had eight scars on each cheek, seven across and one in the middle downwards, made in her infancy, because she was a pretty child, as if beauty need be marked in order to be discovered and admired. We gave her a string of Venetian beads, which she greatly preferred to all medicine.

We had a visit from the Cavaliere, who boasts to be restored to full favour; and while he was warning me, in one part of the tent, against the intrigues of the Greek, the apothecary Paolo enters, yet smarting with his yesterday's chastisement, and, with tears in his eyes, throws himself at Mr. Hanbury's feet, praying him to intercede or do something for him—but *what*, he could never clearly understand; and had great difficulty in getting rid of his importunity. He is a weak old man, and it is not easy to understand how he can ever have engaged himself in the present expedition, as with the exception of a very handsome black beard and mustachios, he has in no respect the air of an adventurer.

We were presently informed that the Pasha was waiting to

see us: we found him sitting in the European manner, on a very Christian-like sofa, on which we took our places by him. Nothing could be more gracious; the doctor, as usual, stood before us to interpret, and James within hearing, a little behind. On a carpet on the Pasha's right was a grand Turk from Cairo, and next to him two Sheygy'a professors with long white beards, who had just been clothed, to their very great surprise and dismay, in splendid pelisses and rich shawls.

The usual preliminary conversation about the river, the mountains, and the trees, we cut rather short, and came somewhat hastily to the point. "We are come according to the commands of your Highness, supposing that your Highness has something particular to communicate." "I feel honoured by your visit to the army, and should be pleased to have your company as far as Sennaar, but the dangers and difficulties and privations will be so great, that I advise you to return." "We wish respectfully to be informed, whether your Highness's advice amounts to a command?" "It is for your own good, and the love I have for England." "We are to understand, then, that your Highness *obliges* us to return?" "It is solely with a view to your own good that I give this order." "We are sorry that your Highness has thought proper to prevent the intentions of English gentlemen. We submit to your Highness's order." "My only motive is a consideration of your own safety; besides which, the firman given you by my father extends no farther

than Wady Halfa*." "We do not dispute your Highness's right to act, but rather thank your Highness that we have been allowed to come thus far, and perhaps we should not have thought of advancing farther, had not the Protomedico communicated to us, from your Highness, an invitation to accompany the army as far as Sennaar." "I should have great pleasure, were it not that I fear for your safety." "Well, we submit; we have only to beg your Highness to permit us to advance as far as the cataract and the islands near it, and then to return by water." "The danger is not so much in advancing, as for your return, as the people in our rear are even now unquiet, and, when the army moves on, will probably break into insurrection; and from above I shall not be able to send a guard with you; nor will it be safe for you to go by water. As visitors to my army, I am responsible to my father, and to the English nation, for your safety." "In case of our writing to Cairo to mention the offers of protection made by your Highness, may we be allowed these favours, by taking all responsibility on ourselves?" After some hesitation, "If you will write a letter to such effect, and give it to me, I will send it to my father and the English Consul, and you are then free to advance or return, as you like." And after a few more words,

* This was the case, though, when presented to Mahommed Ali, at Alexandria, we had asked for a firman for Dóngola. Had the Aga of Wady Halfa been able to read he would not, probably, have allowed us to proceed beyond that place.

in which he promised us a boat to go down in, the matter was ended greatly to our satisfaction.

He attempted, during the latter part of the conversation, which is here much abridged, to work alternately on our vanity and our fears; on the former, by a number of unmeaning compliments to ourselves and to the English nation; and on the latter, by accounts of robberies committed every night in the very rear of his army, and of the general disturbed state of the country; and then he motioned away the Mamelouks and Janissaries, who were standing by, as if he were making us an important communication, that would spread a panic in his army if generally known. The courtier from Cairo gave us from time to time some looks of mixed anger and surprise, on observing perhaps a freedom in our words or manner that was not usual towards a Turkish prince. The Pasha ended by telling us, that he shall defer the departure of the convoy till to-morrow evening, to give us more time for reflection, and we parted apparently good friends.

We had not got to our tent, when the indefatigable doctor overtook us, with a face full of importance, and informed us in a very low whisper, that fifteen horsemen, coming from Dóngola to join the army, were attacked the other day near Korti by about two hundred Sheygy'a; that five men were killed on the spot, and the others were only saved by their horses. Without paying any attention to a communication which perhaps was entirely unfounded, we wrote in Italian as strong a letter as it was possible to pen, taking upon ourselves henceforward all

responsibility for our personal safety; and, considering all as settled, passed a very peaceable evening.

The wants of a Turkish soldier are clothes, arms, and tobacco, of which articles there was a constant barter in the camp; the two former were sold at very nearly the Cairo price, while the value of the latter had increased in the proportion of more than twelve to one.

An old Sheygy'a presented himself in the afternoon, bringing a gun-shot wound, in the shoulder, to be examined; he had received it at the battle of Korti, and had no fear of the incisions necessary to extract the ball. He had heard of a nation called *Ingliz*, "that they live far off over the Western Desert, and are the best people in the world."

Dec. 21. Our letter was delivered to the Protomedico yesterday evening, and he told us this morning that he had read it to the Pasha, who, expressing himself perfectly satisfied with it, still begged us to re-consider the matter; and shortly after this communication Abdin Casheff sent a request to see us.

He received us with his usual politeness; and after the necessary time had been wasted in dull preliminaries, he came to the point, and began, as we suspected he would, an attempt to persuade us to accept the protection of this convoy: we asked his advice as the friend of Englishmen, and the only person in the army to whom we would look for counsel or protection: however, he did little more than sing over again the song of yesterday, about the dangers of travelling through a half-conquered country, and con-

tinued very urgent with us to return. We remained incredulous as to the extent of the danger, and willing to meet what little we really believed to exist. He then entered at great length into a variety of details, to prove that our advance would be inconvenient and difficult, and to return, after a certain time, impossible: these objections were only removed to be more strongly repeated, and in the warmest and most friendly manner; this did not alter our resolution, and it was not till we were convinced, that, resolve as we might, we should not be allowed to proceed one inch farther, that we felt any weight in arguments, which were likely to be so well enforced. We then inquired, whether, on the return of one of us to Cairo, the other would be allowed to continue with the army? And on receiving an instant and decided negative, could only persist in our wish to return by water; and as Abdin saw no objection to this, the doctor was dispatched to the Pasha to claim his promise of a boat to convey us down to the cataracts. His Highness answered, to our great surprise, by a positive refusal, thus retracting, without any change of circumstances, his word of yesterday. It is singular, that, in the only transaction he probably ever had with two Englishmen, whom, from his respect for their nation, he was evidently very unwilling to offend, he should have dispensed with the very virtue for which Turks profess to respect us most.

There was now no alternative; we endeavoured, therefore, to

console ourselves by obtaining a respite of two days to finish our plans of the antiquities; and have pleasure in adding, that, the matter of our return being once decided, the greatest liberality was shewn in providing us, free from every expense, with all kinds of necessaries for the journey. Abdin himself presented us with a sack of very fine white biscuit for our luxuries: our request to be furnished with two horses, a tent, some Sheygy'a lances, and a small granite statue, lying among the ruins, were successively made and accorded; and we were repeatedly assured, that the escort was to be placed, as far as our safety might allow, entirely at our disposal; and that we were to follow, as we desired, the left bank of the river all the way down. Abdin also advanced us a sum of money on the letter of Mr. Brine, for which he would take no written receipt whatever*, assuring us that he would have done the same service to any Englishman without any letter. It is singular, however, that though, before we asked him for the money, we purposely got rid of the doctor, the very person whom he selected to count the money, with his secretary, and bring it to our tent, was the doctor himself.

It seemed our fate to be haunted by this man to the last; and it is difficult to say whether we are not obliged to him for our very honourable dismissal from the camp of his Highness. Men

*We learnt afterwards that he had written to order the money (about fifty pounds) to be distributed among those of his old servants and soldiers, who remained at Minieh, his late government.

must hate those who despise them; and to him, perhaps, it was a sufficient offence that we were acquainted with his character: and yet his interest, to which all his passions were wholly subservient, would seem likely to have disposed him in our favour. It was natural, on the other hand, that the Pasha himself should wish to disburden himself of a party of men who, not being in his service, could be in no way useful, and even in some degree independent of him, and who, besides, were Christians; for Ismael is far from possessing, on these subjects, his father's liberality of opinions. Moreover, he probably still nourished some secret designs against Abyssinia, a country under the supposed protection of England—we should become, he would fancy, in that case, so many spies on his intentions—was it *prudent*, then, to carry us along with him? Such reasons would be sufficient to induce him to form a resolution, which he determined to execute with the utmost mildness and liberality, and to give force, as much as possible, the appearance of persuasion.

Poor Rossignoli, who considered the death of his friend Gentile as a kind of prelude to his own, begged earnestly for permission to return with us; but as he was now the only remaining leech who had received the slightest instruction in medical lore, his services were judged too valuable to be dispensed with. He talked of a thousand piastres, which he was to touch in part of payment from the Protomedico, and which he would trouble us to deliver to his wife—it is needless to add that we were never so

troubled. We professed ourselves ready to deliver to the British Consul, as we had promised, his statement of the circumstances of the death of Gentile, on the fair condition of being allowed to take also the Protomedico's answer to the charges it contained against him; this was contrary to Italian notions of justice, and the offer was in consequence declined.

Dec. 22. We crossed the river early, and passed an interesting, though laborious, day among the temples. Mr. Hanbury returned to the tent in the afternoon, to prepare for our departure; I spent the evening and night in the apothecary's tent, our former lodging, where I was hospitably received by a Cairine Arab, who, having indulged himself in abundant potations of booza, placed before me several calabashes of that refreshing liquor, which made an agreeable infringement on the usual sobriety of an Arabic meal.

Dec. 23. At day-break I renewed, with James, my occupations among the pyramids, which were just finished when I received a summons from my friend to return to the other side; a part of the troops were to be advanced in the evening, and the moment was considered favourable for the safety of us and our convoy to set off in the opposite direction. I brought over with me the little granite statue before-mentioned, which was promised to be sent down for us by the first boat that should return to Cairo. It will be curious, as a specimen of Ethiopian sculpture, which, whether it be or no the origin of

that of Egypt, seems, at least, to have been not at all inferior to it. A small scarabee, exactly resembling those commonly found in Egypt, is the only piece of antiquity that we were able to carry away. The Protomedico, who gave it to Mr. Hanbury, assured him that he had received it from a native only a day or two before; though he may have invented this story to enhance the value of his present. We made several unsuccessful inquiries among the inhabitants, especially the female part of them, for such curiosities, nor could we ever observe any, where they were most likely to be found, among the ornaments of their persons. We learnt, however, from a variety of quarters, that there were three or four small, but perfect, granite statues, which had stood from time immemorial before the excavated temple of El Berkel, but which the Sheygy'a carried away with them in their flight. Thus have the marvellous works of paganism been consecrated by the ignorance of the Faithful, and what were only the admiration of the inhabitants of Napata, have become the palladia of their posterity.

In the afternoon, Mr. Hanbury made the Pasha a farewell visit, and was received with the usual compliments. I was not very well; and, in any case, am not sure that I felt at that time sufficiently obliged to him to put myself to the trouble of paying him a visit of ceremony.

I was not a little surprised, on my return to the Christian part of the camp, to be assured that this was Christmas-day. Greeks and Catholics were united on this point, and they so

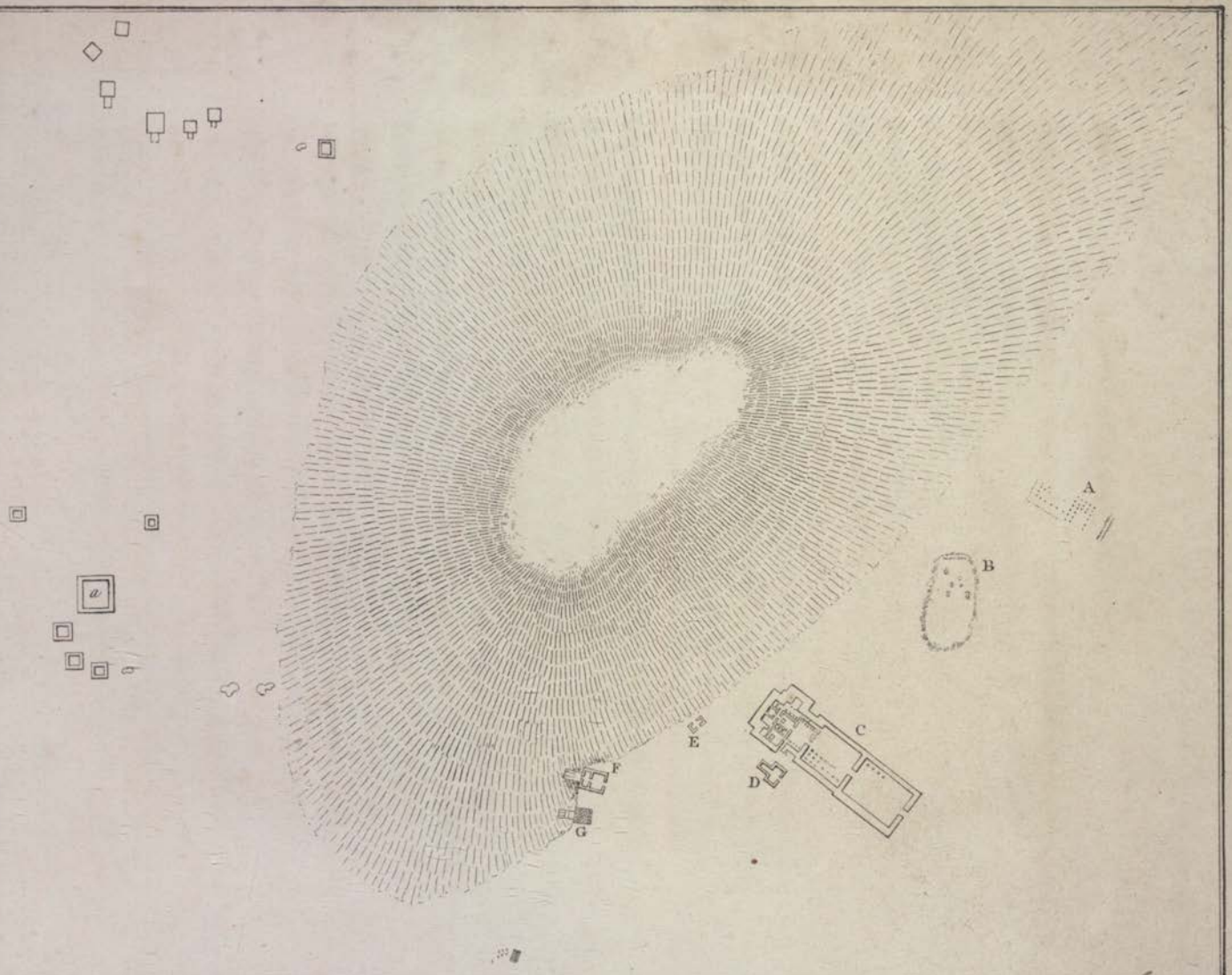
rarely agree when a difference is possible, that we conceded to their concurrence the accuracy of our journals, and came into a belief that two days had passed by us unnoted*. We accordingly made such additions as we could to our usual repast, and invited Prince Amiro to partake of it with us. We learnt from him, that he had found four Corinthian pillars, with the cross on the capital, by the river near Merawe, a little higher up than the place where we left the boat. These are the highest remnants of Christianity that have yet been discovered on the banks of the Nile.

Our old commander and friend having at length brought up his sluggish squadron, presents himself this evening to take leave of us. He had been endeavouring to collect one hundred piastres, to send down by us to his wife. We engaged to advance her that sum, which he was to repay to the Protomedico, to be laid out for us in trifling articles of antiquity or curiosity. He refused all written promise on our part, saying, that he knew that "an Englishman would rather die than break his word."

I shall in this place collect, and, as much as possible, condense, the observations made by us in our various visits to the ruins, which were found in the vicinity of the camp.

The remains of antiquity which lie at the foot of Djebel el

* On our return to more civilized countries, we were again amused to find that our original calculation was right, and that we had, therefore, in common with all about us, anticipated by two days the celebration of that festival.



B.R. Baker, Lithog.

GENERAL PLAN OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF DJEBEL EL BERKEL.

London, Publ.d by J. Murray, Albemarle St.

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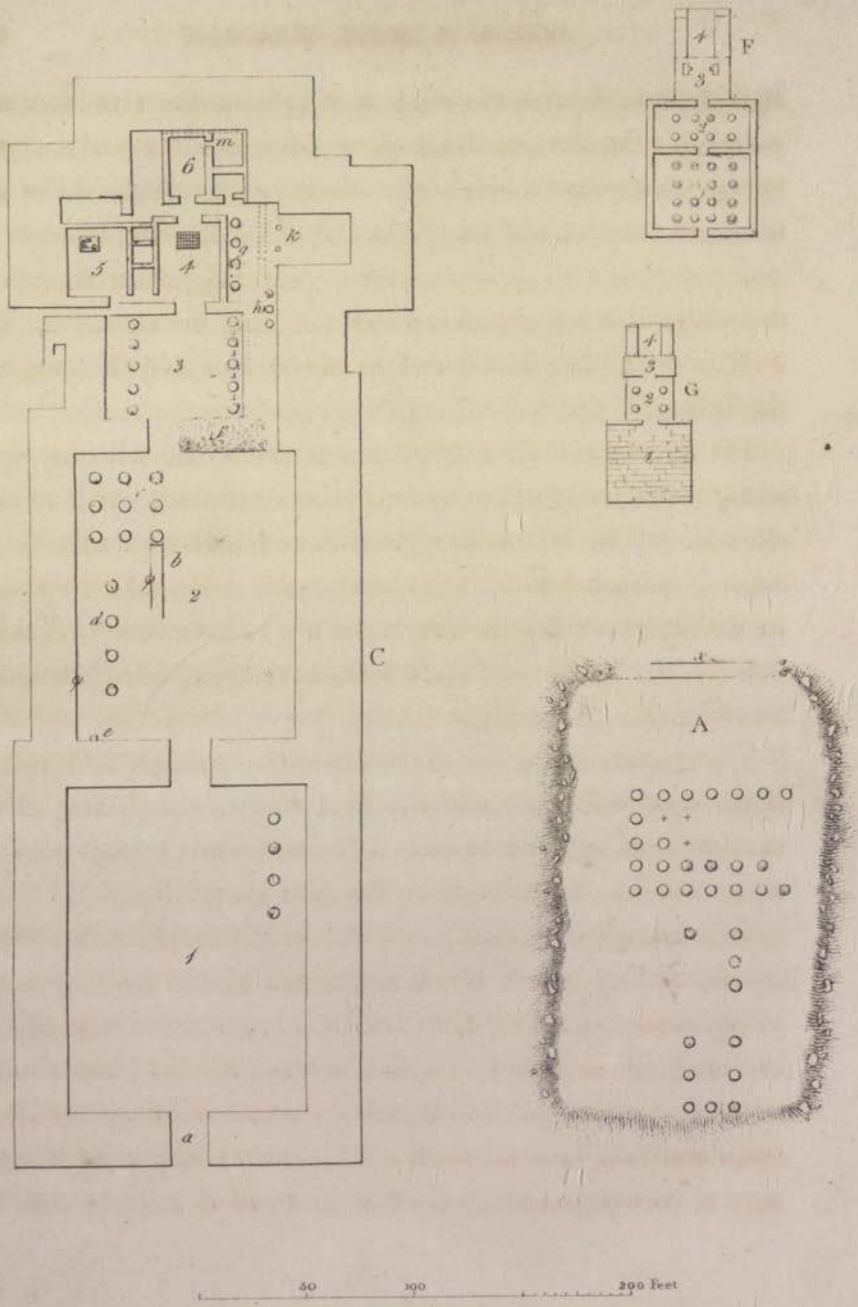


Printed by C. Hullmandel.

PLAN of the PRINCIPAL TEMPLES of DJEBEL EL BESKEL.

Pub.d by J. Murray Albemarle St. Mar. 15. 1822.

Berkel are of two kinds—temples, or other public buildings, and pyramids; the former, which have ornamented the city of the living, are situated towards the river, on the S.E. side of the mountain, and all the ground about them, for several acres, is scattered over with broken pottery; the latter, which have been the receptacles and monuments of the dead, are on the W. and N.W. side, farther from the Nile, among the sands and rocks of the Desert.

The mountain itself is about a mile and a half from the river, whose banks are nowhere more fertile than there; it is of considerable height and solitary, and there is an irregularity in its outline, and a boldness in its precipitous sides, which strongly fix the attention, and render it worthy to have furnished materials for the industry of an enlightened people, and habitations for the gods of Ethiopia.

1. Temples of Djebel el Berkel.—The remains of seven or eight stone buildings may still be traced in the vicinity of the mountain, or actually excavated in the rock. I shall mention them in order, beginning with the most northerly.

(A.) Here are the bases, or parts of the shafts, of thirty-four pillars, varying from two feet two inches to two feet five inches in diameter: many of them scarcely appear above the level of the sand, which conceals the rest of the colonnade, and there is no one of which any considerable portion remains; even their fragments have been removed. The foundation of a stone wall *x* may in part be traced at the S.E. end, where probably was the

entrance; the existence of side walls can only be conjectured from the heaps of crumbled sandstone mixed with pieces of mortar, which lie about the temple. It would be useless to speculate on the probable construction of a building, whose ruins are so very inconsiderable.

The remains marked (B) begin two hundred and sixty feet to the West of (A), and are even less intelligible; they appear, however, to be those of a temple, at the N.N.E. end of which have stood six pillars, whose bases may still be observed there. Two or three Egyptian capitals are lying in different places, and near the centre of the elevation, apparently formed by the ruins of one large building, are parts of three other columns.

Eighty paces S.S.W. from the extremity of this heap of broken stones and pottery, is the exterior wall of the temple (C), whose dimensions are perhaps not inferior to those of any existing remains of antiquity.

The principal entrance was at *a*, looking towards the Nile; it is fifteen feet two inches in width, and that of the front walls, of which the greater part still exists, is twenty-three feet nine inches. The dimensions of the first chamber are one hundred and forty-seven feet by one hundred and eleven feet six inches. On the right-hand side, at the distance of twelve feet seven inches from the wall, are the fragments of four pillars, forming part of a row, to which there was, no doubt, one corresponding on the opposite side. Their diameter is five feet seven inches and three quarters, and the distance between the first and second is nine

feet nine inches and a half; between the second and third is five feet seven inches; and between the third and fourth five feet three inches. There are a few hieroglyphics still visible on the wall close by, but those on the pillars themselves are entirely effaced.

The second chamber is not so regular, as it contains the remains of a wall *b* running parallel to the interior wall, and and thirty-two feet distant from it, bearing figures and hieroglyphics. Parts of nine pillars of the colonnade *c* may still be observed, but the farthest of the interior row is the only one that is entire; though only twenty-four feet nine inches in height, it is composed of sixteen layers of stones; the diameter of these pillars is five feet three inches, and the distance between them varies from six to eight feet. The row of pillars, of which the four marked *d* formed a part, seems to have been independent of the other colonnade, as it is thirteen feet distant from the exterior wall, and if prolonged would pass between the first and second row of the pillars *c*. They are five feet five inches in diameter, and nine feet ten inches is the distance between them. At *e* has been a staircase within the wall, leading originally to the top of the building; the wall is now so much ruined, that the steps in its interior are, in many places, exposed; there are some defaced figures and hieroglyphics at ϕ. The whole chamber seems to have measured one hundred and twenty-three feet three inches by one hundred and two feet ten inches; the wall *f* is only a large heap of ruins.

The third chamber is much less, being only forty-six feet six inches in length, and of about the same width; it contained a row of five pillars on each side, and between each of those on the right is a sculptured pedestal, two feet one inch square, where statues have formerly stood; there are pedestals similarly situated in the second chamber of the temple of Osiris at Ebsámbal, and there, as here, if I mistake not, only on the right side.

The pillars are three feet ten inches apart, and four feet two inches in diameter. The wall of this chamber seems, on the right side, to have been close behind the pillars, and to have been again separated from the exterior wall by a smaller room of thirty-three feet by nineteen feet three inches; there is no such intervening wall and room discoverable on the left side, where the pillars are distant thirteen feet six inches from the outer wall of the temple, which is also that of the chamber.

The dimensions of the fourth chamber are fifty-nine feet seven inches by fourteen feet five inches. It contains a black granite pedestal, five feet square, beautifully sculptured, but on two sides much broken and disfigured. The few discernible sculptures on the walls bear marks of great care in the execution. Here stood, no doubt, the statue of the god to whom the temple was dedicated, or the king by whom it was erected.

On the left of this chamber, separated from it by two or three little cells, is a fifth chamber, measuring forty-eight feet three inches by twenty-four feet eight inches, and containing a similar and larger pedestal, eight feet four inches square, and less

injured, and destined, of course, to the same purpose with the other. The holes, by which the statue has been joined to it, are still observable. On the right side of the fourth chamber are three small rooms, containing, respectively, the remains of four, three, and two pillars; those marked *g* are three feet seven inches in diameter and four feet eight inches apart; the three *h* measure two feet eleven inches in diameter; and the two at *k* only two feet ten inches: the distance between them is six feet.

The sixth and last chamber is separated from the fourth by two walls with a narrow passage (seven feet two inches in width) between them. It is twenty-five feet eight inches in length and nine feet broad, and communicates by a door *m* with the two little rooms on the right; they are six feet nine inches wide, and respectively twelve feet three inches and ten feet six inches in length. A single chamber of thirty-six feet four inches by ten feet occupies the space between the sixth chamber and the exterior wall on its left. The dotted line denotes a smaller interior wall, joining and running by the side of the great wall, but of a different age and architecture.

The temple is on the whole about four hundred and fifty feet long, including the thickness of the walls, and one hundred and fifty-nine feet wide; but is unfortunately so much ruined, as to retain nothing of its ancient grandeur and beauty, and to have required several examinations to enable me to form the ground-plan, which is given with some diffidence. Of two facts

only respecting it do I feel certain: that its present remains are the work of very different, and probably distant, periods; and that even in the composition of those parts (such as the propylon and exterior wall), which belonged indisputably to the original building, many stones were employed, which had been taken from some more ancient edifice. The discovery of a sculptured stone among the mortar in the middle of the thick outer wall proves this point, while the extreme irregularity of the foundations of the walls and position of some of the columns leave no doubt of the other. Whether these anomalous parts have been additions, or whether they were parts of some older temple left to stand as chambers in the larger one erected on its site, remains uncertain; the existence of the dotted wall, and the deviations from regularity in the direction of the outer wall, incline me to the latter opinion. The propyla are much ruined, and even the entire portions of them are rough and extremely decomposed, resembling more nearly the front of the temple of Seboua than any other remains of Nubia or Egypt.

Some parts of figures may still be traced on the inside of the second portail, but in most inexplicable confusion; the head of one appears in the place which ought necessarily to be occupied by the feet of the one above it; and legs and arms appear to be distributed with equal disregard to nature; all, however, are so extremely defaced, that I had rather believe my senses to have been deceived, than that such absurdities have been allowed to disgrace one of the noblest buildings ever erected.

One figure, the divinity, six or eight feet in height, is very discernible, and sufficient to prove that the wall has not been *entirely* composed of old materials thrown negligently together, as might otherwise have been suspected.

The granite pedestals are extremely well sculptured, as are some broken sphinxes lying in different parts of the ruins. The statues which have ornamented this temple, may still be buried under the ruins, and would be found near the pedestals where they have stood. We saw nothing whence we could decide, with any certainty, to what divinity the temple was dedicated.

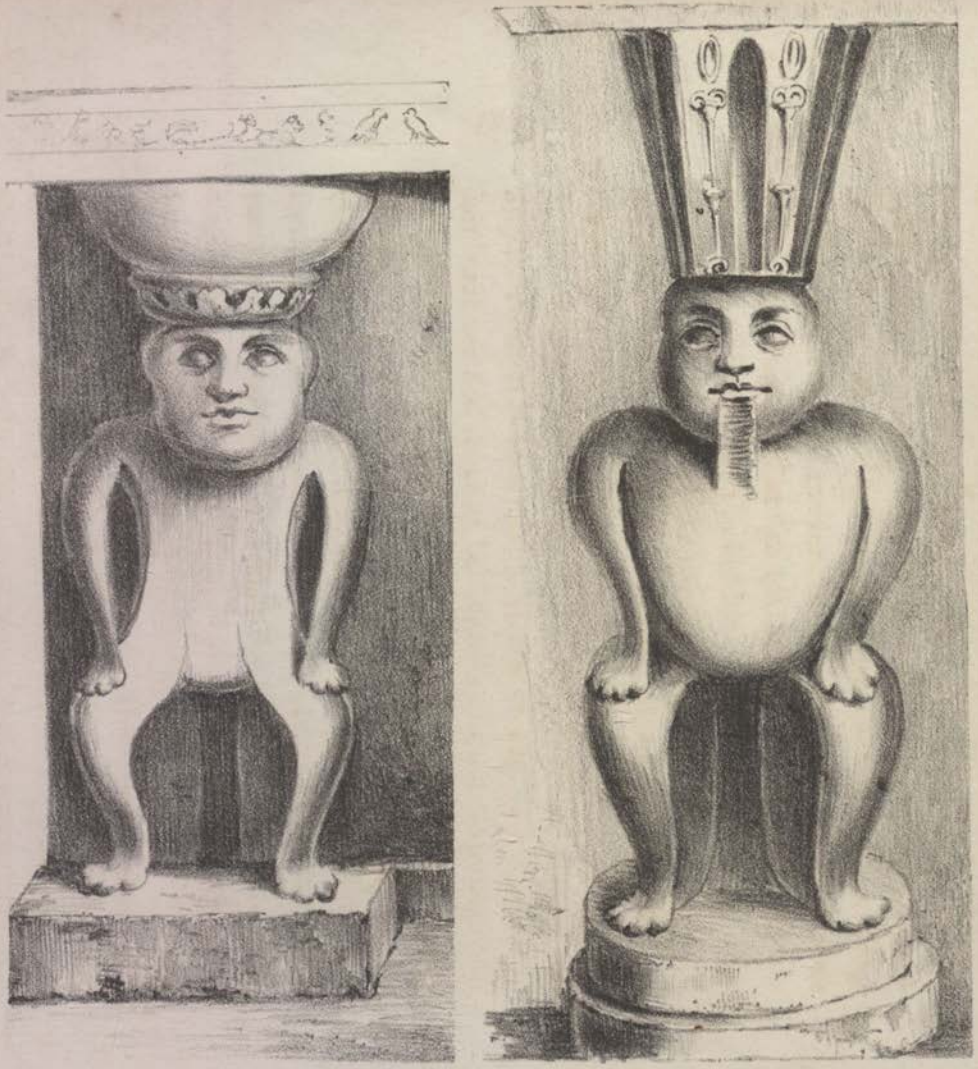
There is part of a ruined wall, of no great antiquity, at the distance of two hundred and ten feet to the S.E. of the entrance; and three hundred feet East of the wall is a pillar, eleven feet two inches in height and seven feet nine inches in circumference.

In the midst of these ruins we found the corpse of an Arab, who seemed to have taken refuge there as in a holy place, of which the sanctity had not been respected by his pursuers. It was a horrible reflection, that these monuments of the peaceful glory of antiquity should have been discovered only by means of carnage and massacre; that, after marching over human corpses to arrive at them, we should have found one of the victims of war even among the temples, which we could not otherwise have visited, and that the very stones that we were studying should be polluted with blood.

Close to the S.W. side of the great temple are the remains of

a building (D) containing at *x* a stone pedestal five feet three inches square; the wall is eleven feet three inches in thickness; the whole length seventy-three feet six inches; and the width of the first chamber forty-two feet six inches. Here are parts of four pillars, of which the two on the left side are nearer to the middle of the chamber, and have square bases. Near the pedestal are lying some fragments of broken columns, and there are some sculptures on the walls; we particularly observed the arms of a woman, beautifully soft and natural. There are foundations of some old walls about the building, one of which has been entirely dug up, and the stones which formed it have been carried away.

About forty yards N.W. of (D) are the remains of a temple, of which all the inner chambers appear to have been crushed by the fall of part of the mountain. The portail is in better preservation than that of the large temple, and is in one part perfect to the top. It has been dedicated to Jupiter Ammon. We distinguished the figure of the ram sitting on an altar-piece; and on the front of the portail, on the right side, is a thirteen-headed Briareus, under the hand of the victor; they are in the presence of a young divinity with a thin beard, and not of the hawk-headed Osiris, as is usual in Egypt. The weapon in the hand of the god is of the same form with that which he is represented as extending in Egyptian and Nubian sculptures, with this difference, that it has here the ram's head with the ball on it, at the end. We observed, in another place, a



On Stone by A. Aglio.

Printed by N. Chater.

FIGURES OF BACCHUS AT DJEBEL EL BERKEL.

Published, as the Act directs, by John Murray, Albemarle St. March 6. 1822.

figure bringing offerings of vases, as is common in Egypt and Nubia.

The first chamber only can be traced, and it appears to have been thirty-one feet two inches in length, and forty-one feet five inches in width; the ground beyond, where the rest of the temple has stood, is covered with immense fragments of rock.

Very near to (E), to the North, are the ruins of a small edifice, of which two walls and three broken pillars (two feet six inches in diameter) only remain. I observed no hieroglyphics about it, and should have supposed it to be a part of (E), but that it lies a little beyond the extremity of the portail, which is well marked.

About a hundred yards West of (D) stands the temple (F), of which the two first chambers are of masonry, and the four interior are excavated in the solid rock, resembling in this respect the temples of Gyrshe, Seboua, and Derr, in Nubia.

The first chamber is forty-five feet wide, and about forty in length; it contains four rows of pillars with four in each row; those of the two inner rows are square on round bases, those nearer the wall are round; their diameter is four feet, and that of the base five, and before them stand figures of the bearded Bacchus, as represented in the annexed Plate; the monster, there very imperfectly delineated, measures four feet two inches across the hips.

In the second chamber are two rows of two pillars each; these are all round, and their diameter is three feet six inches, and

four feet seven inches is the distance between them, and their height about eighteen feet; they are all sculptured, and bear the Isis capital of low relief, but very good execution.

The third chamber is in the solid rock, and the roof is sustained by two square columns, before which * Bacchus again presented himself to us, in ruder sculpture than before; the bases of the pillars are five feet five inches square, and the height of the figure to the top of the head is six feet eleven inches. The kind of architrave above is covered with hieroglyphics, and the colours remain very fresh on the plaster here, as well as in other parts of the temple.

The walls are ornamented with sculptures; on the right side Jupiter Ammon is seated, and Horus on the left; a figure of Isis is represented standing behind each of those divinities.

The dimensions of the fourth chamber, or adytum, are twenty-two feet eleven inches by twelve feet five inches; two smaller chambers, the one seven feet three inches, and the other seven feet eight inches in width, are on either side of it, into which a passage has been forced at *x* from the adytum, though each has a separate entrance, independent of that of the chamber between them.

On the right side of the adytum appear Jupiter Ammon, Isis, Apis, and Osiris, with the heads of the hawk and ibis; Horus (the young divinity with the long thin beard) and Isis; the cloaked figure with offerings, Mendes, and a warrior with the

* See the left figure in the Plate.

ornamented corn-measure, are sculptured on the left—the first figure on each side is a man presenting offerings; and in the far corner, on the right, is a horned animal, with the ball on his head, reposing on a kind of pedestal, with a branch growing up before it, of which the leaves most nearly resemble those of the doum-tree.

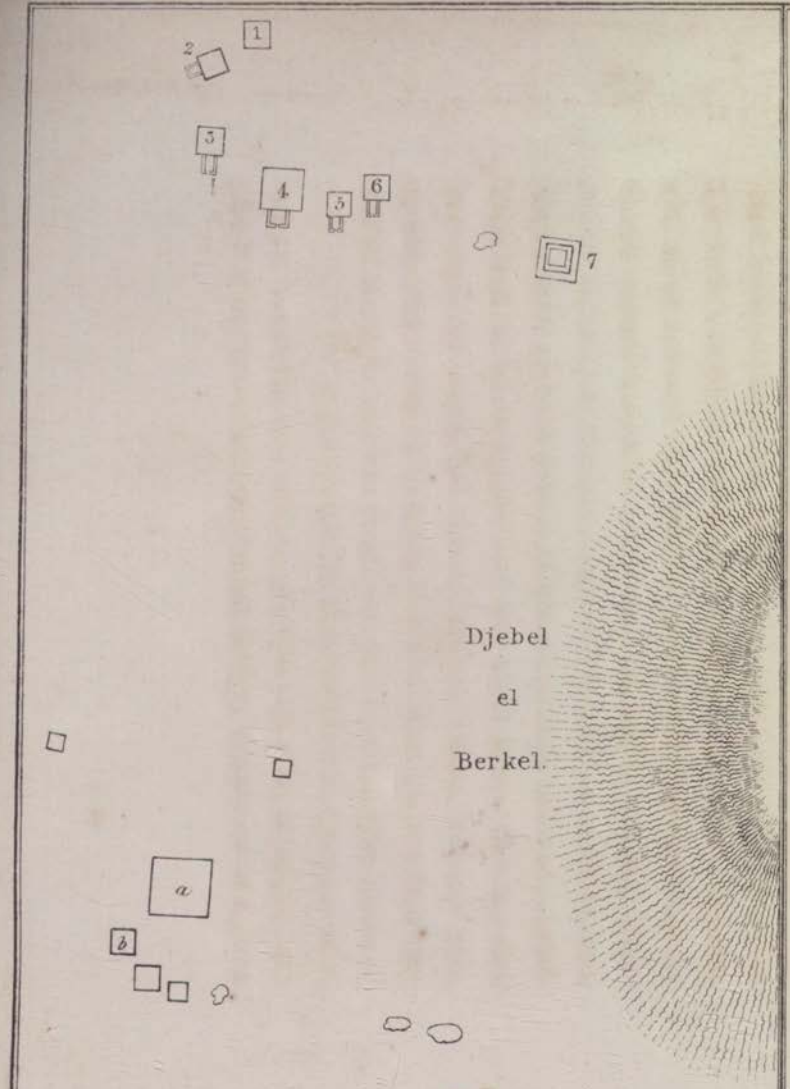
Of the two chambers by the side of the adytum, the left has similar figures, but smaller, and of worse execution; in the other, those on the left are merely outlines, and the right wall has no sculptures whatever. The style in which the figures are executed most nearly resembles that of the ornaments of the temple of Derr in Nubia; it is perhaps even less bold and varied, and from the absence of historical subjects the sculptures are less interesting.

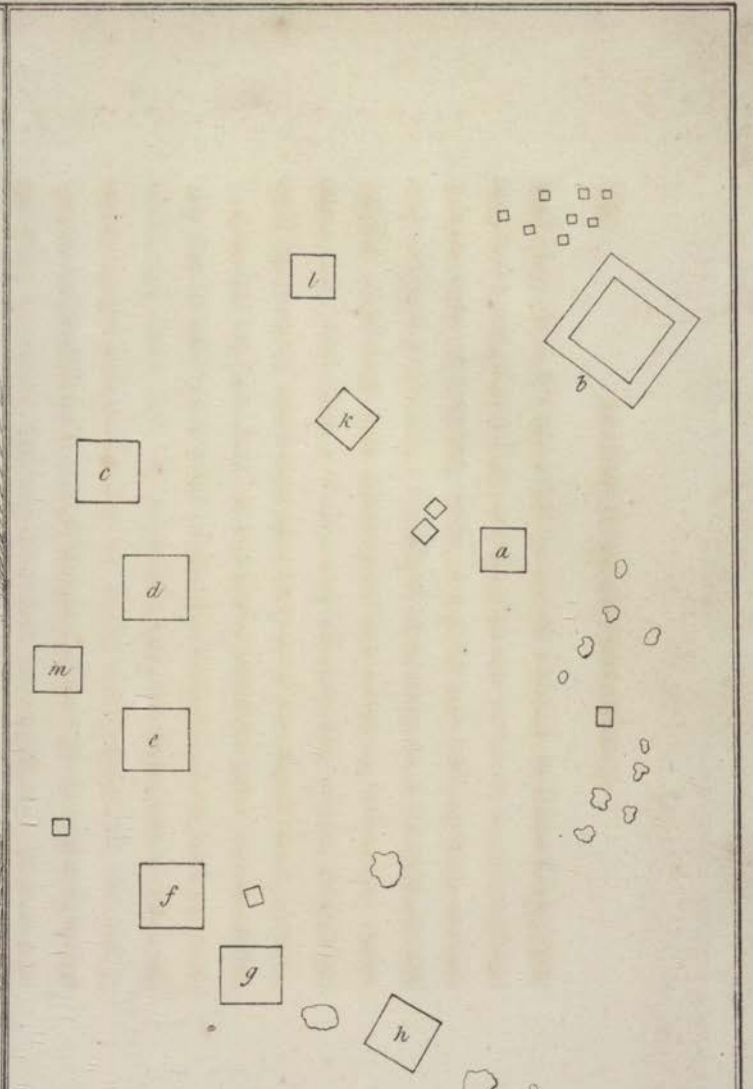
The entrance faces the E.S.E. nearly. This temple is much more perfect than the rest, and measures about one hundred feet in length; it was probably dedicated to Bacchus, though uniting representations of nearly all the gods of Egypt.

Not ten yards to the South of this building is another (G), similar to it, but smaller; and in this respect different, that five of its six chambers are cut in the rock, and the other, the first, which is thirty-six feet square, stands on an artificial stone foundation, by which it is elevated to the height of the rock in which the others are excavated. The wall separating the second chamber from the first is solid, but of no great thickness; the chamber measures twenty feet five inches by twenty-one feet six inches, and contains the remains of four round pillars, whose diameter is

two feet five inches. The third chamber is only ten feet nine inches in length, and of nearly the same width as the second. The fourth, or adytum, is twelve feet four inches long, and ten feet eight inches wide. Of the two smaller ones on each side of it, the one is four feet three inches in width, and the other only three feet nine inches: at the end of each is a stone bench, two feet in height, where statues may formerly have been erected. The height of the solid roof, which is now in most places fallen in, was eleven feet seven inches.

On the back wall of the room, on the right of the adytum, appear two defaced figures of Jupiter Ammon, and the young divinity whom I have called Horus. There are vestiges of hieroglyphics in all the chambers. Above the rock, which forms the back wall of the adytum, are six or eight layers of stones, of different sizes, and of the rudest architecture, erected possibly as a defence against fragments, which might roll down upon the temple from the mountain behind. The walls of the cells *a* and *b* have in two or three places been repaired, and faced with stone, on which are hieroglyphics. There are some specimens of the same kind of patchwork on the front of the rock, in which the temple of Gyrshe, in Nubia, is excavated. The elevated chamber in front may have been the addition of a later age; as in temple (F) the statue of Bacchus, and the capital or ornament on its head, are better executed and finished than the figures sculptured on the walls within. From the simplicity of the masonry, from the rudeness and decay of the remaining sculptures, and from





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PYRAMIDS OF DJEBEL EL BERKEL.

PYRAMIDS OF EL BELLAL.

the raggedness and decomposition of the walls, though they had been sheltered probably for ages by the solid rock from the sun and wind, I am inclined to believe that this is older than any of the temples of Egypt, or even Nubia.

We observed nowhere any sculptures that had been intentionally erased or disfigured; proving, I think, that the ruins were in their present state when Christianity was introduced into the country. The idols were already broken, and the ravages of time, or of war, had been so effectual, that they needed not the hand of fanaticism to complete them.

About a hundred yards South of this temple is a large Arab burial-ground, in the middle of which is a four-sided enclosure, uncovered, and containing four graves; the walls are built of stones brought from the ruins, and those appear to have been selected, on which the sculptures are least defaced, and the colours most fresh and brilliant. On one is a very fine head, of a bright yellow; others are inscribed with Arabic letters, mixed with the hieroglyphics.

This place had been the habitation of a saint, and his corpse was then lying at the door; it had been slightly covered with sand, but the jackals had discovered and dragged it out, and torn and in part devoured it. I scattered a little earth over it superstitiously and uselessly, for the earth was removed in the night, and the wild beasts renewed their revels.

2. Pyramids of Djebel el Berkel.—The pyramids stand on the W. and N.W. side of the mountain, and are seventeen in num-

ber. Of these all are much inferior in size to those of Egypt, and some are reduced to shapeless ruins.

The base of the largest *a* is eighty-one feet square, but it had suffered too much from time to enable us to ascertain its height. Of those immediately surrounding it, one only *b* measures thirty-four feet in base, and such of the others as can be at all accurately examined hardly exceed twenty feet.

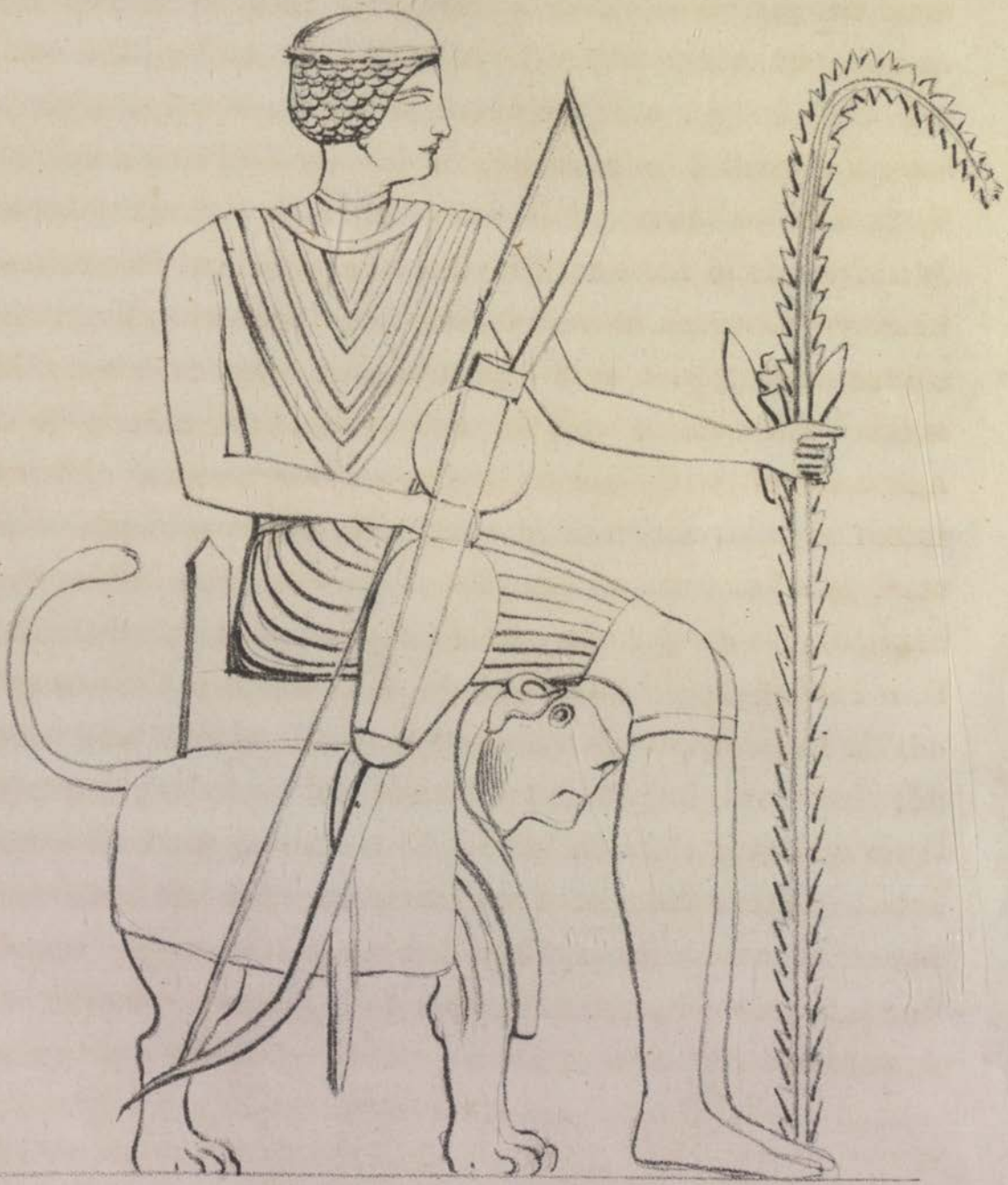
Another body, situated about three hundred yards to the north of these, presented objects of greater interest. The *first*, or most northerly, from the top of which the annexed plan was taken, is nearly perfect, and measures thirty-six feet square, and forty feet in height. The *second*, which is only ten yards to the S.W. of the first, exceeds it by only two feet in height and in base; it has this distinction, that on the S.W. side there is attached to it a portico, or small chamber, of fifteen feet in length, covered with an *arched* roof, of which the greater part has fallen in; its width, where the span of the arch begins, is five feet eight inches; the middle of the broken wall was made up of mortar and small stones, and the portico is almost entirely filled with sand. The *third*, which is thirty-three feet eight inches in base, and forty-eight feet high, has also an arched portico, which is still perfect, and whose width is six feet six inches. There is a succession of small figures in procession just below the beginning of the arch. The female figure with the outspread wings so common in Egypt, is at the end of the right wall three feet in height, and near her are two others, somewhat larger: three similar figures

correspond to these, on the opposite side; all the rest is covered with sand. The vault is not sculptured. There are the bases of five small pillars, so close as to touch each other, standing on the right before the portico; they may have formed part of a foundation like that on which the vestibule of temple (G) was erected. There are ruins before the portico, as of a small chamber that has been destroyed. In the front of this pyramid, and near its top, are three round holes, of no great depth, in which some ornament has been fixed with a strong cement; a bit of granite remains in one of them; one such incision is visible also on the second pyramid. The *fourth*, which stands fifty-four feet three inches S.E. of the third, is rather larger, measuring fifty-two feet square in base, and fifty-three feet in height. It has also a portico, eight feet wide, but with a flat roof; it is a good deal injured, and completely filled with sand. The *fifth* is the most perfect and interesting of all the pyramids; its portico has also a flat roof, and has nearly the same dimensions with that of the third; it is similarly ornamented, and the sculptures seem even to have been executed with greater care. A part of the wall at the end has been so carved as to have the appearance of a door* facing the entrance, and leading into the body of the pyramid. This has, in some age

* I have observed three instances of similar false doors in Nubia; one is sculptured in the outer wall at the end of the temple of Dakke, and the wall has been broken through in that place as in the described portico; the corresponding part of the wall is not similarly ornamented on the *inside*, but is covered with the

or other, excited the curiosity or the avarice of the natives, and they have forced out some stones from the wall; instead of an entrance into the interior of the building, they have discovered only the solid pyramid; to which, when completed, the portico had been added, as a chapel, to consecrate the whole. The pyramids themselves are not sculptured, and to judge from the architecture and the materials employed (a very fine sand-stone), I can see no reason to believe, that these little temples are of a later age than the tombs to which they are attached. The sacred boat appears sculptured over the false door. On the right side, at the further extremity, is the figure of the Divinity seated on a stool, which is supported by a lion. In his right hand is a bow, resembling that of the fugitives in the excavated temple of Kalabshe, and other temples, I believe, both of Nubia and Egypt. What he holds with the bow was not quite intelligible to us; it may, perhaps, be a musical instrument. The branch in his left hand resembles that of the palm, while the leaves on it are those of the doum tree. The small winged figure stands behind him in the same situation, and of the same size as in the portico of the third pyramid. A small figure is presenting an offering to the divinity, behind which is a number of smaller ones, bringing branches, such as are

usual mythological representations. There is a second, out of which one stone only has been forced, at the bottom of the small temple of Dandour; but the third and most perfect specimen of the false door is in the northernmost temple at Taffa, and it has sustained the same violence as the other two.



On Stone by A. Agho. Printed by N. Chater.

FIGURE IN THE PORTICO OF THE FIFTH PYRAMID AT DJEBEL EL BERKEL.

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represented in the hand of the god, and hares, and vases, and birds. Some of them are female, and have a kind of stool before them, on which they are performing some labour. The principal figures on the left side are nearly the same as those on the other, and the smaller ones are chiefly representations of women, stooping at their employments over the stools described. There are also bending figures on the other side, but, in general, more slightly inclined. The whole has been painted. This portico reminded us much of the chief tomb at Eilythyia, in Upper Egypt; and though much inferior in the variety and interest of the subjects represented, does not at all yield in the style of their execution, which is more easy and graceful. The refusal of the Pasha to allow us to employ any workmen about the pyramids prevented us from clearing out the sand from this portico; for, though not so completely choked up as the others, there remained still sufficient to render our examination of it very laborious.

About the *sixth* pyramid we observed nothing important. Its base is thirty-one feet square, and the length of the portico sixteen feet. It stands within ten feet of the fifth.

A hundred and twenty-four feet E.S.E. from it is a heap of rubbish, which has once been a small pyramid, and sixty-one feet beyond that stands the *seventh*. Its base is fifty-four feet square, and it has been built of three stories, like one of those at Saccára; it is now nearly in ruins. The sandstone, of which the pyramids are built, is of a finer and firmer quality than that employed in the construction of the temples. Three or four of them have

suffered little from time, and towards the top of the two most perfect, we observed a smooth covering, like that on the second pyramid of Djiza.

PYRAMIDS AT EL BELLÁL.

The pyramids of El Bellál are situated on the left bank of the river, six or seven miles higher up than Djebel el Berkel.

The plan of these pyramids was taken from the summit of the central one *a*, around which the others form an irregular line standing all at some distance from *a*, but seldom far from each other. There are remains of nearly forty, of different sizes; eleven of them are larger than any of the perfect ones of Djebel el Berkel, and the greater part of the rest are reduced to a mere mound of decomposed stone and gravel and sand. That of most importance in size and interest stands two hundred and twenty feet distant from *a*; its base is one hundred and fifty-two feet square, and its height one hundred and three feet seven inches. It has been built in stories, but is most curious from its containing within itself another pyramid of a different age, stone, and architecture. This interior building, which the other has enclosed like a case, seems to form about two-thirds of the whole structure; it is of neat workmanship, and is composed of a hard light-coloured sandstone, more durable than that which, after sheltering it for ages, has at last decayed and fallen off, and left it once more exposed to the eyes of men. May it have happened, that some king of Ethiopia, jealous of the glory of one of his predecessors, and wishing to conceal what he was

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GREAT PYRAMID AT EL BELLAL.

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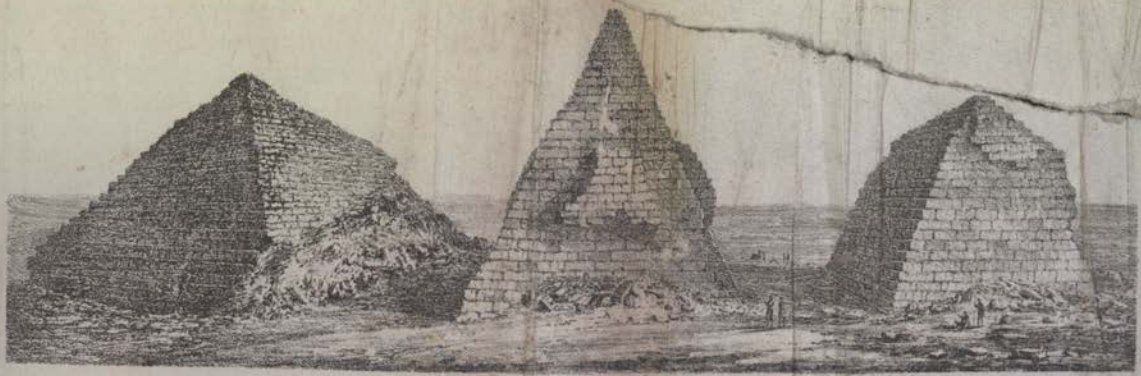

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PYRAMIDS AT EL BELLAS.

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unable to surpass, has enveloped with his own monument the monument of his rival, in his thirst for the exclusive possession of that immortality, which was to be the destiny of neither?

The pyramids *c*, *d*, *e*, and *f*, are the next in size, and measure respectively eighty-two, eighty-eight, eighty-five, and eighty-six feet square; the height of *e*, which appears to be rather the loftiest of them, is seventy-three feet eight inches. The bases of *g* and *h* are of equal size, being seventy-nine feet each; and those of *k*, *l*, and *m*, are sixty-six, fifty-seven, and seventy feet respectively.

The distance from *b* to *l* is two hundred and eighty-two feet; that from *l* to *k* one hundred and nineteen feet, and from *k* to *c* two hundred and twenty-six feet; and the extreme length, from the cluster of ruins at *x* to the pyramid *h*, is about one thousand feet.

These pyramids appear to be of higher antiquity than those of Djebel el Berkel, and present in general a more ruinous appearance than the most ruined of those at Saccára; the softer quality of the material may *partly* account for this. Many of them are reduced to heaps of quartz and other stones; some, however, are of a harder substance, but even those have so ill-resisted the ages that have passed over them, that the exterior coating, by which some of the largest appear to have been covered, is entirely crumbled off, and even the layers, to some depth within, have in many instances fallen away: mud appears

to have been used for cement. From some very large stones found near one of the easternmost pyramids, we conjectured, that it had possessed an entrance facing the S.E., a point which we were unhappily not allowed the means of ascertaining.

The pyramids of El Bellál, like those of El Berkel, Saccára, and Djiza, are situated on a rocky place surrounded by sand, and on the edge of the Desert; a spot selected for the dead by the veneration of their survivors, that they might dwell apart in sanctity and in solitude. This is only one out of many instances of coincidence in customs, genius, and religion, between the ancient Ethiopians and Egyptians. The government of Meroe was a more complete and a more durable hierarchy than that of Memphis: a college of priests elected their sovereign, and, when they thought that he had reigned long enough, sent a messenger to command him to die*; and it was not till the age of the second Ptolemy, that a king named Ergamenes, who had studied philosophy in Greece, had the courage to simplify the government by a massacre of the priests. Hieroglyphical symbols were common to both nations; the nature of their

* Strabo, lib. xvii.: Ἐν δὲ τῇ Μερόῃ κυριωτάτην τάξιν ἐπεῖχον οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸ παλαιόν· οἵγε καὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ προσέταττον ἔσθ' ὅτε ἀποθνήσκειν πέμψαντες ἄγγελον, καὶ καθίσταsαν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἕτερον, &c. &c.

Diodor. Sic., lib. iii. sect. 6.: Κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον Πτολεμαῖον ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Αἰθιόπων Εργαμένης, μετεσχηκὼν Ἑλληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ φιλοσοφήσας, πρῶτος ἐθαρρήσε καταφρονῆσαι τοῦ πράγμάτος, &c. &c.

worship was the same, and the same the divinities to whom it was directed*, the principal difference being this—that while Osiris held the highest rank among the gods of Egypt, the vows of the devout Ethiopians† were addressed to Jupiter Ammon.

The question naturally presents itself—to which of these two countries the worship common to both is indebted for its origin?—into which I shall only enter by comparing a few of the passages of ancient authors that bear most upon the subject, and by a repetition of the opinions formed by me on the spot, with respect to the antiquity of the ruins already described.

We learn from Herodotus‡, that Sesostris was the only Egyptian who was ever master of Ethiopia, and Strabo§ speaks of a sacred mountain in Ethiopia, where was a temple of Isis, built by that conqueror. From this assertion (and from this

* According to Herod. (ii. 29.) the Ethiopians worshipped Jupiter and Bacchus only; according to Strabo (lib. 17.) Hercules, Pan, and Isis, *πρὸς ἄλλῳ τινι βαρβαρικῷ*. Diod. Sic. (iii. 8.) mentions Isis, Pan, Hercules, and Jupiter. Pan is, of course, Mendes (Herod., ii. 46.); the city of Panopolis in Upper Egypt contains the remains of a temple to that divinity. Representations of Jupiter Ammon are not unfrequent in Egyptian temples; and though Osiris be not mentioned by any of these authors, his figure appears in two forms on the walls of the most perfect of the excavated temples at Djebel el Berkel.

† Herod., loc. cit.: *τούτους δὲ μεγάλως τιμῶσι· καὶ σφι μαντήϊον Διὸς κατέστηκε*, by whose responses their military expeditions were directed.

‡ Lib. ii. 110.

§ Lib. xvi. p. 770. C.

only in History*,) it might for a moment be suspected that Sesostris introduced into that country the religion of Egypt; the facts that destroy such a supposition are—*first*, the short duration of Egyptian influence in Ethiopia, which ceased at the death of the monarch who first planted it there; and seems to have so little affected the power and energy of that kingdom, that in little more than a century afterwards we find the armies of Memnon† redeeming the honour of their fathers, and his statues erected among the temples of Thebes: the *second* is drawn from Herodotus himself, who briefly mentions, that before the time of Sesostris, there had been three hundred and thirty kings of Egypt, *of whom eighteen were Ethiopians.* The numbers may be incorrect, but if the proportion be true, it appears that in the earliest ages of which any events are recorded in profane history, Egypt was occasionally under the sceptre of the monarchs of Ethiopia‡, as it was afterwards for fifty years under that of Sabaco. On the other hand, Diodorus Siculus§ describes the Ethiopians as a people who had never

* The story told by Josephus, (lib. ii. c. 11.), of the taking of Saba or Meroe, by Moses, and the love conceived for him by the daughter of the Ethiopian monarch, has the air of a Grecian fable. The object of the expedition (and some such one may really have been made) was to liberate Egypt from the yoke of the Ethiopians—proving the previous superiority of the latter.

† See Pliny: Clara et potens etiam (Ethiopia) usque ad Trojana bella Memnone regnante, et Syriæ imperitasse nostroque littori ætati regis Cephei.

‡ Diodorus Siculus (lib. i. sect. 44.) mentions that there had been Ethiopian as well as Persian and Macedonian kings of Egypt, though he reduces the number of the Ethiopian to four.

§ Lib. iii. sect. 2.

been conquered by any foreigner, and that against them only, among men, Hercules and Bacchus had no success. It appears clear, then, that as far back as we have any light from history, Ethiopia was a mighty kingdom, and unlikely to have received its religion from a people to whom it not unfrequently gave laws*.

The age of kings and priests was preceded in Egypt, as in Greece, by those of gods and of heroes, which were of course represented to Herodotus, and believed by their worshippers, to be indigenous; so, those introduced, at a much later period, from Egypt into Greece, after being corrected of their formality and extravagance, were claimed as original natives of the land, where they were only re-born. But as the Egyptians never failed to remind the Grecians of their religious obligations to them, so does it appear from a very curious passage in Diodorus Siculus†, that the Ethiopians boasted to have similar claims on the gratitude of Egypt, "For they say that the Egyptians are a colony from themselves, and that Osiris led the colony; meaning that the soil of Egypt is only the mud of Ethiopia; that their

* The desertion of the Automoli under Psammetichus was of so late a date, that the opinion that they first introduced their religion into Ethiopia is hardly worth refuting. Sabaco, many years before, had conquered Egypt, in obedience to the oracles of Meroe (Herod. ii. 139.). The barbarous and skin-clad natives are said, indeed, to have been civilized by the residence of those foreigners among them; and so, in our time, the half-naked inhabitants of Dóngola were beginning to imitate the customs of the Mamelouks.

† Lib. iii. sect. 2, 3, 4. That author had himself been in Egypt, and conversed with priests and Ethiopians. (sect. 11.)

customs*, particularly with respect to the funerals of the kings, are alike; and that the shapes of their statues and the forms of their letters are Ethiopian—for of the two characters in use among the Egyptians, that called the vulgar is learnt by all; while the sacred character is intelligible only to the priests, who learn it in mystery from their fathers; whereas *all* the Ethiopians use this character." Thus, then, were hieroglyphics nothing more than the common written language of Ethiopia; and if this be true (as Diodorus seems to believe), there can be no doubt respecting the origin of the religion. At an age so distant, that even the records of Memphis did not pretend to reach it, some Ethiopian conqueror had taught his worship and consecrated his language in Egypt†.

Thus much may, I think, be inferred from the very scanty information afforded us by classical authors, and a consideration of what are probably the relative ages of the antiquities of the two countries will confirm the conclusion derived from that source.

A people little removed from the Deluge‡, and living in

* Herod. (ii. 102.) mentions one common custom, that of circumcision, without pretending to decide which of the two people learnt it from the other: ἀρχαῖον γὰρ δή τι φαίνεται ἐόν.

† There appears to be one source (besides the study of hieroglyphics) from which light may yet be thrown on this subject. The Ammonians were a mixed colony of Egyptians and Ethiopians, and spoke a mixed language. (Herod., ii. 42.) The discovery of any inscription in *Ammonian* would probably lead to the decision of this interesting question.

‡ See Bruce, vol. i.

dread of its return, sought the sides of the mountains, and built their habitations in the solid rock: such were the oldest dwelling-places of men, the places of their labours, their studies, and their worship; and when they began in aftertimes to build temples for their gods, would they not naturally make for them some larger excavation in the rock, that had so long afforded shelter to themselves? If so, and I think it indisputable, the sculptured caverns of Gyrshe, of Derr, and Ebsámbal*, are of higher antiquity than the columns of Thebes, and have received the gods of Ethiopia in their progress towards the North. I believed at the time, and do still believe, as far as can be judged from rudeness of masonry and sculpture, and from the mere effect of time on colours, figures, and even the surface of the hard and solid rock, that the smaller of the two excavated temples at Djebel el Berkel is much the oldest that I ever saw; older by centuries than those of Nubia, or than the temple of Bacchus by its side: now the few figures and hieroglyphics yet visible there are exactly such as are found in greater perfection in Egypt.

By the same reasons I am led to suppose that the pyramid, as a sepulchral building, had also its origin in Ethiopia. The first pyramid is naturally of a later date than the first temple. Not that tombs or cairns were not numerous before temples were ever thought of, but because the construction of a pyramid requires

* Excepting, perhaps, the temple of Osiris at Ebsámbal.

more skill and labour than a mere excavation in a rock. The one, however, would probably follow the other at no great interval; it is the most natural kind of monument, and, in a land of astronomers, such an elevation might be of use to them in taking their observations. Now, the utter destruction and shapelessness of many of those at Berkel and El Bellál attests their antiquity; while those of Egypt* do not appear to have been erected above eleven or twelve hundred years before Christ, when that country had been frequently overrun by the Ethiopians. The pyramids of Memphis are of a later date than the ruins of Thebes.

Jupiter Ammon was the great divinity of Ethiopia, and the horned god† of the shepherds is probably older than Osiris, whether he be the Dog-star or the Nile. Thebes, which is known‡ to have been founded by a colony of Ethiopians, was called Ammon No, Diospolis, or the City of Ammon. It follows, then, I think, very clearly, from the concurrence of these observations on the antiquities of Ethiopia with the conclusions derived from historical evidence, that the origin of the Egyptian divinities, as well as that of their temples and their tombs, and of the sculptures, figures, and symbols that cover them, may be traced to Ethiopia. In the magnitude of their edifices, the

* Herod., ii. 124.

† I have remarked, in the proper place, that the oldest temple at Berkel still contains a defaced figure of Jupiter Ammon.

‡ Bruce's Travels, i. 380, *&c.*

imitators have indeed surpassed their masters, but as far as we could judge from the granite and other sculptures remaining at Argo and Djebel el Berkel, that art seems to have been as well understood, and carried to as high perfection, by the sculptors of Meroë, as it was afterwards by their scholars at Thebes and at Memphis.

It only remains to ascertain the probable name of the ancient city whose ruins I have been describing.

The name of the kingdom in which they were found, and the peninsular tract of country, of which three sides are enclosed by the southerly bend of the Nile, together with the distance from Syene, as given by Herodotus, and the extent and nature of the remains, led us for a moment to hope, that our search had been successful, and that we were really contemplating the ruins of Meroë. An examination of the ancient authors soon led us to a different conclusion, and we abandoned with regret an idea formed too hastily. The great discoverer of the sources of the Blue River was worthy of the inferior honour of ascertaining the site of Meroë. The ruins traversed by Bruce*, a little to the

* Vol. iv. p. 538. A little below Shendi, and "opposite to Kurgos, is the mountain Gibbainy, where is the first scene of ruins I have met with since that of Axum in Abyssinia. We saw here heaps of broken pedestals, like those of Axum, all plainly designed for the statues of the Dogstar, and some pieces of obelisk likewise with hieroglyphics almost totally obliterated. The Arabs told us these ruins were very extensive, and that many pieces of statues, both of men and animals, had been dug up there; the statues of the men were mostly of black stone. It is impossible to avoid risking a guess, that this is the ancient city of Meroë, whose lat. should be 16° 26′ N." In

North of Shendi, are so clearly proved by him to be a part of the remains of that ancient city, that it is unnecessary to repeat any of his arguments here; and being, with respect to the antiquities of Djebel el Berkel, sufficiently convinced of what they are not, I shall proceed, in very few words, to determine what they probably are. NA'PATA was the second city of Ethiopia; in the time of Augustus it was the capital, and as such was besieged and destroyed by Petronius; it was situated, according to Pliny, five hundred and eleven miles above Syene, and according to Ptolemy, in lat. 20° 15′, on the right bank, and near the angle made by the bend of the Nile*; the former thus

* In ascertaining the situation of the old city he appears to commit an error in measuring the miles of the Roman exploratores in the direction of latitude, instead of considering them merely as the distance travelled by them before they reached the city; and by so doing he makes violent enemies to his argument of those centurions of discovery, who are, in fact, its greatest friends. Nor do I understand what he means by afterwards "fixing Meroë at Gerri," a place just below the conflux of the White and Blue Rivers, when he has so decidedly proved that it stood, where he found its ruins, nearly a degree to the N. of Gerri. (See his Map.) Bruce's Gibbainy is probably the Djebail of Burckhardt, two hours South of which place he noticed some mounds of rubbish and red burnt bricks, and some foundations of buildings constructed of hewn stones; he was unfortunately prevented from extending his observations (p. 275.). The antiquities described to us (*v.* supra.) as existing at a place called El Djebel, have probably some connexion with those at Djebail—that name may be common to the mountains on both sides of the river. Pliny mentions a people called Megabari, or Adiabaræ, who inhabited the City of Apollo, opposite to Meroë.

* Pliny in another place makes it three days' journey from the Red Sea, and adds, that rain-water was preserved in many places along the road, and the country intervening was very productive of gold; while Strabo, who is a much better authority, states Meroë to be fifteen days distant from the sea, whereas there is but

places it rather lower down the river, and the latter higher up than the ruins of Berkel.

It is evident that this city has been less known to ancient authors than, by the magnificence of its remains, it seems to have deserved; and I attribute this to its angular situation, and to the Cataracts, which render the Nile above it difficult of navigation. Travellers, merchants, and armies, have probably left the Nile at Korti, and crossed the Desert direct to Meroë, as they now* do to Shendi; the sculptured grottos existing towards the eastern end of this pass confirm that supposition.

The ruins of El Berkel bear marks of every age of sculpture, from the outlines of the rudest figures to the arched vaults of the pyramids, proving the great antiquity and long duration of the former city: the same causes that prevented its notoriety, may have contributed to divert from it the course of the enemies of Ethiopia. It was fated to be at last overthrown by a Roman†;

1° 30′ difference in longitude between the two places. The story of the rain-water is equally incredible to those who know how rarely a shower falls in this country between 18° and 30° of lat.

* Poncet travelled this road; it is frequented by traders, and was followed by his Mamelouks, after their evacuation of Dóngola.

† Petronius, after taking Premnis, *ὡρμῆσεν ἐπὶ Ναπάτων· τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ βασιλεῖον τῆς Κανδάκης, καὶ ἦν ἐνταῦθα υἱὸς αὐτῆς· καὶ αὐτὴ δ' ἔν τινι πλησίον ἵδρυτο χωρίῳ. Πρεσβευσαμένης δὲ περὶ φιλίας . . . ἐπελθὼν λαμβάνει καὶ τὰ Νάπατα, φυγόντος τοῦ παιδὸς, καὶ κατασκάπτει· ἐξανδραποδισάμενος δὲ, ἀναστρέφει πάλιν εἰς τοὐπίσω μετὰ τῶν λαφύρων, δύσοδα κρινὰς τὰ προσώτερα.* —(Strabo, xvii. 820. D.). A difficult and rocky country does actually commence above Djebel el Berkel, and continues for two or three days.

and he accomplished its destiny so effectually, that the exploratores of Nero, in their enumeration of the cities afterwards found by them in that country, remark upon Nápata, "Oppidum id *parvum* inter prædicta solum."

Dec. 24. At about half past eleven we mounted our Dóngola horses and took leave, without the slightest regret, of the camp and all the rabble contained in it; and as presents, in some shape or other, had been accepted by all * those employed by us, we departed with the satisfaction of feeling no obligation to any one there except Abdin Casheff †, and, perhaps, the Pasha. Two Italians, who were in the medical department, and for whose pay the Protomedico had now more occasion than for their services, were attached to our party; the former was a rough Genoese, who had been cook to the staff; and the other the very Paolo, who was yet fresh from the chastisement of the Greek.

My man, Giovanni, forseeing great vicissitudes of fortune in a long journey, however favourably commenced, bought, for

* It is right to mention, that the Protomedico refused all pecuniary recompense for the real or apparent services that he had performed for us during our residence in the camp.

† Among the articles sent up by us in Abdin Casheff's cangee was an old Turkish saddle, of little value, belonging to Mr. Hanbury; this was somehow mislaid, and at our departure was not to be found. On our arrival at Cairo, in March, we found that the magnificent Turk had placed in the hands of our banker there a very splendid new saddle, the most expensive that could be made, to replace the trifling loss occasioned by the negligence of one of his soldiers; and for which my friend refused, of course, to accept so inordinate a compensation.

about five dollars, an excellent ass, of the Cairo breed; an act of prudence on which he had afterwards daily occasion to congratulate himself.

We set out in great confusion, without any camel-driver or guide, in pursuit of our escort, who were said to be waiting for us at Abdoum. For three miles we rode S.E., through cultivated ground, and then through two miles more of desert, on the edge of which is Sannáb, Abdin Casheff's late encampment. All the ground here is covered with bricks and broken pottery, bearing marks of having been the site of an ancient city. There are no remains of temples, but we were assured that at some little distance from the place, there is an entire sphinx of red granite, which, however, we had the misfortune not to observe; and that, near here, when the Nile is low, the tops of columns appear above the water. At present, the most striking objects presented by the ground were proofs of the profession of its late occupants; many bodies of animals, chiefly camels, were lying scattered about, and so much corn had been thrown away in different parts of the plain, that we found several women employed in gathering it up and sifting it from the sand. Seeing us approach, and mistaking us for soldiers, they implored our mercy and humanity, in deprecation of the violence which they expected to be offered to them.

Near this place, I had for some time observed four or five objects standing together on an eminence in the desert, about a quarter of a mile off, which I mistook at first for shrubs, and then for

men; and it was not till I came much nearer that I discovered them to be the largest species of the desert eagle; there were several others at no great distance. Having no time to spare for a chasse, I could only give them a couple of shots from my horse in passing, with no effect*. At Sannáb the cultivation begins again, and in five miles and a half we came to Abdoum, a good sized village among the palms; but our escort was not here. In seven miles, or seven and a half, we passed a large village on the right, situated in a spot where the cultivation is very broad; and in ten miles, at a place called Tangaz, we overtook a part of the escort. We saw, in the course of the morning, many black rocks, about fifteen miles on our left, and distinguished some trees and spots of verdure at a great distance from the Nile in the same direction.

Here the dog Anubis, having catered for himself among the soldiers in the camp, trampled and pawed the Desert in such formidable spirits, that a native, greatly agitated, was heard to exclaim at the sight of him—"Women, women, shut up your

* Being out shooting one day at Thebes, I surprised a large party of these birds employed in tearing the carcass of an ass with astonishing fury. I fired among them from about thirty yards with a common English gun, and they began by running off to a considerable distance in all directions: presently one of them shook his wings, and went off to the Desert; another followed, and gradually all got on the wing except one, whom, with the assistance of two Arabs, I secured, and have since succeeded in bringing alive to England. It is of a light-brown colour, with very long wings, and is from two to three feet high; the head and neck are without plumage, and the bird, though called by the Arabs the Eagle of the Desert, is probably of the vulture species. I am assured that the same bird is found in immense flocks on the banks of the Ganges.

dogs; don't you see the lion is coming!" The man having given this warning, mounted a horse, of which he was holding the bridle, and consulted his safety *. This cannot, however, prove, what we have never heard to be the case, that lions are occasionally seen, or that the fear of them is very general in this country. The Arab seeing an apparently wild animal, to which he could give no name, called it, for that reason, a lion.

At Tangaz we were received most respectfully by a man in a red cap, who seemed to be the head of the party waiting for us; he expressed himself ready to rest here, or advance, as we chose, and to supply any wants that we might have. He was rather a mean looking man, dressed in a white shirt, and had sufficient servility of manner; however, he was a king, and his name was Malek, or King, Tombol.

We soon set off again, and in eleven miles came to the Nile, at the beginning of an island, about two miles long, during which space the Desert extends to the water's edge; then we found more cultivation, and in about fifteen miles arrived at Koraigh, a large village near the Nile. We had travelled for the last hour in the dark, and in such great confusion, as to make it wonderful that we did not lose some part of our baggage. A rich Copt, who is supposed to have lent the Pasha

* I did not observe more than one species of dog in this country, which was extremely like an English greyhound, though not above two-thirds of the size. Strabo says (lib. xvi.) that the Ethiopian dogs were μικροὶ, τραχεῖς δὲ καὶ μάχιμοι. We never saw any proof of the truth of the latter part of this assertion.

much money for this expedition, was to have been of our party; we were not sorry to learn that he remained behind, and was to return by the short road across the Desert on the other bank. We thus found ourselves, without rival, at the head of the caravan. Our bivouac was under the outer wall of the fortress, where all the female inhabitants of the town were shut up for the night. Malek Tombol paid us a short and respectful visit, and took his post near us; fires were lighted around us, and we slept undressed in the open air, with our guns by our sides, and our pistols under our heads. All the rest watched, and the King amused himself by playing on an instrument, and singing wild airs to it by the moonlight.

Dec. 25. We had a curious proof yesterday of the yet untamed spirit of the Sheygy'a. Malek Tombol finding that he had left something behind at Tangaz, sent back a man to recover it; he found it in the hands of the inhabitants, and demanded it; but they, discovering by his accent that he was a Nubian, and not an Arab, refused to restore it. He demanded it in the name of the Pasha, and within ten miles of his camp; and they answered by some blows, of which he long bore the marks. He then fired his gun and pistols, and they retired, retaining, however, the spoil, which he never recovered.

In about two miles and a half we passed a large town on the right, named Goraigh, and in four miles came to a small village by the Nile side, at the end of the cultivation, and just opposite the extremity of the island, Mishow, which is about two miles

long. The district here is called Keneesa. We followed the side of the river for two miles or more, in a S.S.W. direction, and there the cultivation begins again; skirting the edge of it, we arrived in ten miles at Wad Nazarah, in a district called Oussali or Oushli, and in half a mile more at the castle before examined by us, two days after our passing the frontiers of Dar Sheygý'a. The chain of mountains on our left was to-day hardly visible from its increased distance; and the width of the cultivable land varies from half a mile to a mile.

Here we halted to breakfast, and Malek Tómbol overtook us so engaged, and waited our orders to visit us. His great pleasure was in the examination of our arms; a pair of blunderbuss-pistols, before mentioned, he called "a weapon without hope," and swore "by God, the Creator of the world, that but for English arms the Turks would be no better than other men." Such we were supposed to be, and it was lamented by himself and his court, that we spoke nothing but Turkish.

Amiro having given James an old sword, he assumed in consequence the title of Hadji Yacóbe, and in consequence again of his title, the king gave him a horse to ride; this promotion raised him greatly in importance with himself and others, and this importance was again reflected on his masters, so that even ourselves might thus have risen in estimation, had it been possible to add to the dignity of those who had been seen by Malek Tómbol himself sitting on the same sofa with the Pasha.

We passed in the course of this morning and yesterday a great

number of Sheygy'a, either on their return to their homes, or already engaged in their former occupations: their swords and lances had been taken from them, but they were allowed to retain their small knife* or dirk, which they wear on the left arm. I saw a boy, after repeatedly attacking with no effect, though with great spirit, an older and more powerful antagonist, draw at last this knife, and press it against the naked body of his adversary; but though he held it nearly a minute in contact with the skin, he seemed to want either rage or strength to force it in. These Arabs have a free and manly look, and, with open chest and unbending neck, they still step the ground as if it still belonged to themselves: this firmness is united in many with a great mildness of physiognomy. Few are extreme in stature, and we saw but one instance of deformity. Many are very handsome, and they are much the finest race of men we saw in the East, not excepting the Turks themselves.

Mahommed Casheff, of Mahass, was the other commander of our escort, which we were happy to find consisted entirely of the native Princes of the conquered country, from Wady Halfa to Dar Sheygy'a, with their attendants; there was another strong party similarly constituted only a few hours in advance of us. Our two present leaders sent to inform us that the dangerous pass of Korti, where the five soldiers had been killed the other day, and where the Sheygy'a were still represented as being par-

* This is accurately described and represented by Burckhardt, p. 297.

ticularly exasperated and desperate, was still two hours before us. Evening was now coming on, and as brave men in all ages prefer to die by some kind of light, we were recommended to stay where we were till the rising of the moon. Tómbol suggested the prudence of retiring till that time into the fortress, but as Mahommed swears that he will never shut himself up against the Sheygy'a, we adopt the bolder counsel, and pitch our tent among the trees: the luggage was piled up before the door of it, and the arms kept in readiness; and so strong was the conviction of our royal protector that the corn was full of robbers, that he would not allow us to send after dark a well-armed party to the river for water, though it was not three hundred yards distant.

Malek Tómbol is the King of the Isles; Argo forms the most considerable portion of his dominions, but his capital is on Benni; he invited us to visit him there, and boasted to us of the glory of his ancestors. The country on both sides of the river, formerly rich and well cultivated, was under their sceptre, and they had a corps of Moggrebyns in their pay, which rendered them formidable, till their army was destroyed by the Sheygy'a near Mount Dager, to whom, from that time, till the arrival of the Mamelouks, the country continued tributary.

Dec. 26. In the midst of the terrors which were supposed to surround us, we slept so soundly and so long, as to be scarcely in motion again by an hour after sunrise. We first rode near the Nile (S.S.W.), and then more to the Westward

and farther from it. The island of Sowerab, where we overtook the fleet, lies at the foot of the black rocks, and extends nearly the whole length of them to the North, and beyond the end of them to the South, and is probably nearly five miles long, but very narrow. In six miles, we arrived at the formidable Korti. It is a large town divided into three parts, each of which is defended by a mud castle. It was originally in Dóngola, but has for many years been incorporated with Dar Sheygy'a. Instead of finding the city, as we expected, full of mortal enemies, we could discover in it only two inhabitants—an old man and a boy, who told us that all the others were killed in the battle fought near here: this was not true, and they were possibly hid in the corn by the road-side, with the intention of attacking us, had they not found us too well prepared.

Mr. Hanbury and myself, and one or two others, rode into the Desert to discover, if possible, the field of battle. We had no guides but the eagles, who, in this instance, proved unfaithful ones; they were alternately soaring in the air and reposing on the eminences by hundreds together, but though closely pursued and observed, they refused to betray to us the place of their festival.

Korti is above a mile from the river, and Amboocote above three miles S. by W. from Korti. At Amboocote, we overtook three other kings, Malek Mahommed, of Old Dóngola, and the Maleks Ibrahim and Zebeyr, of Mahass; they formed the

remainder of our escort, which thus appeared to be composed of four kings and a casheff, with all their guards and attendants. They were anxious to pass the rest of the day here, to number the cattle and tax them for the Pasha; to this we made no objection, and pitched our tent in a very dirty court in front of a house. While this operation was performing, and we were sitting in the house with King Tombol and one of his two body-guards, they brought in a mess of cold dhourra bread and meat in a bowl, which we were invited to share; but observing that his Majesty, after having picked the bones, returned each, as he had done with it, into the common bowl, we permitted ourselves to be so far overpowered by European prejudices, as to make, fasting as we still were, a very indifferent repast.

The equipment of our escort was various and singular: one of the horses had a strong plaited defence before his face, which would stop a lance, and a pistol-shot at any distance. The saddles are much lighter than the Turkish, and rise very high behind; the pummels and part of the seat are in many cases covered with the inner skin of the crocodile, which is a very durable substitute for common leather; the stirrups are sometimes round, and very small, as the feet of the horsemen are always naked; they use a very strong bit, like the Turkish, and mount by throwing the leg directly over the middle of the saddle, therein differing from the Turks, whose manner is like ours. Almost all the horses and camels wear charms, and the rough broad heads of the latter are frequently decorated by

strings of white shells from the shores of the Red Sea. All the iron used in this country is imported from Darfour, Sennaar, and Shendy, and is therefore very dear; spears, though there is a manufacture of them at Korti, are usually brought by traders from the same places, and left in payment for provisions for themselves and camels; but swords, after the hilts have been ornamented at Daraou, are worth eight or ten Spanish dollars each.

It appeared that the good people of Amboocote, instead of plotting to kill us, had been employed in killing a bullock for us—a sacrifice which is only made on the most important occasions: our portion, when cut into small pieces and mixed up with a quantity of sour bread, was brought us in a wooden bowl of about two feet in diameter, and proved to us very palatable, though not sufficiently delicate for the appetites of our Maltese and Italians. In the afternoon, we received the first visit of Malek Ibrahim, who had been charged by the Pasha to forward us from Dóngola to Wady Halfa. He is a delicate, and rather handsome, young man, and in features and mildness of expression strongly resembles the faces in the kings' tombs at Thebes. As he speaks no Arabic, he brought his interpreter with him; and, as ideas, in passing through two languages, naturally lose much of their brilliancy, the interview, though short, was sufficiently dull. We had then to sustain another visit from Him of Argo, who, unfortunately, admired the flavour of our tobacco; and it was observed, that the monarch, like his

subjects, spits in smoking, which the Turks never do. The thermometer* under the tent rested at 91°.

Dec. 27. We set out in good time. In one mile we came to the end of the cultivation, and rode for three more along the stony desert, about a quarter of a mile from the Nile; and in four miles and a half passed many acacias between our road and the river. Here is a large burial-place, with much burnt brick about. The acacias continued about half a mile; and in five miles and a half we passed a large ruined village. Our direction was S.W. for the two first miles, then W.S.W., and then nearly West. In one mile and a half more, we reached the old castle named Hettán, situated on the marked rock before described†. The island opposite is called Chazzénart.

In four miles and a half or five miles more, we got to a large village called Bessoorkooti, with much green and little cultivated land around it, and about half a mile from the Nile. We had Persian weed and acacias and doums on every side of us, some of the last at a great distance in the Desert, and there are palms by the Nile side. Our road, except at first, was about half a mile from the river.

In a mile and a half more, there are some mountains on the other side, and on them a well-situated town, ruined by the Sheygy'a, named Doofar. The island Kennet is below. Our

* Amiro mentioned to us that the thermometer, in June, at Assouan, was generally at 148°, and that it became lower as he approached the tropic.

† Vide supra.

direction, W. by S., over a sandy plain, about a mile from the Nile. In a mile and a half more we came down to the river, and reposed for an hour opposite the island. We had travelled latterly over hot sand (W.S.W.), and passed a large ruined town with saints' tombs about it.

For two miles and a half more (direction nearly S.), after riding through some acacias, we again traversed the flat sand, varied only by a few stony hills; there is then a turn to the Westward, and for two miles our direction was W. by S.; there the island ends, and the acacias thicken again. Our road had of late been close by the Nile side. I got a shot at a crocodile, lying on a sand-bank in the river, and was assured by a number of spectators that the ball struck him; however, he retired very quietly into the water, and we saw no more of him*.

* Mr. Hanbury was afterwards more successful. We were floating down the river one morning, within sight of Koum Ombos, when we observed a crocodile within fifty yards of us. He instantly fired, and struck it in the side; the monster crawled into the water, and then almost immediately on shore again. In the mean time, we brought the boat as near as we could, and the sailors landed with shouts after him; as they approach, he escapes once more into the water. The three boldest of them (two Nubians and an Arab) leap in after him; they soon discover him, and continue to elude his attempts to seize them, till one of the Nubians succeeds in finding his tail, and so drags him on shore. They then beat him with a hammer on the head, and a pistol shot was fired into his neck; all which he answered by groans and angry cries, till, after a long continuance of such treatment, he at last died. The operation of skinning was then begun; and, after taking the greater part of the flesh on board with them, they left the rest to the hawks and vultures, of which multitudes had been long collecting on a neighbouring bank. It proved to be a female, and not more than ten feet long, though full-grown, and old. There were several balls in the body, which it had received from

In three miles and a half more, through the Desert, and generally at some distance from the Nile, though once or twice within hearing of the sakies, (the general direction a little to the southward and west), we came to a few abandoned straw huts, with some saints' tombs near; where we were to pass the night. The mountains on the other bank appear not above three or four miles from the river. There is no cultivation from Bessoorkooti to near this place: of which the inhabitants are said to live on some islands here, formed by the river. We were not destined to pass the night in tranquillity: we were scarcely in bed, when our interference was called for by a violent dispute between a groom, whom we had engaged at the army to attend to our camels and horses, and who, to keep that engagement, had, without our knowledge, deserted, and a Nubian, who threatened to publish his desertion: the groom armed himself with a long firebrand;

the soldiers at different times, and some evidently very long ago; they were generally small, but there was a very large one towards the tail. The fatal one, which it had received from the common English gun of my friend, had passed quite through the body, and lodged in the skin on the other side; and I am quite sure that any part of the scales, except perhaps those just on the top of the back, is penetrable by ball at sixty yards, though the wound may not always be mortal. There was a male near, who came to the spot immediately after we had left it, to seek his companion. We were surprised to find in its intestine about two hundred stones, one or two of which were not less than a pigeon's egg. It had a large tongue, of which the tip was fastened to the roof of the mouth, and four toes or claws on the fore feet, and five on the hinder, contrary to ancient opinion, as exemplified in the Vatican, where are two sculptured crocodiles, of which neither has any tongue, and the one five, and the other six, claws, on the hind feet as well as the fore. I have given these details, because, I believe, we are the only Egyptian travellers who ever had the fortune to witness the scene described by them.

upon which the other drew his sword, which proved the more effective weapon. The groom was first severely wounded, and then taken in charge by some soldiers, who happened to be passing by in their way to the army: and the informer, by our influence with Malek Tombol, was to be beaten with sticks early on the following morning.

After settling this fray, we were scarcely asleep, when, before moon-rise, we were violently awaked by the cry, uttered in three or four different languages, "We are attacked! We are attacked!" and a double-gun, which I had, for the first time, neglected to lay by me, was forced into my hands. We heard the firing of guns and pistols all about us, and shouts which were supposed to be the shouts of battle. So I rose up, and began to pull on my trowsers; Mr. Hanbury was similarly employed; and Yacobe and Giovanni, being ready dressed, rushed out to battle. The firing increased; the balls whistled in the air: and we had hardly finished our inglorious occupation, and were about to sally forth to the combat, when our two warriors returned, with the news, that they had discharged their pieces, and that the combat was decided in our favour; which, as it happened, was extremely fortunate for one of them, as he required nearly a quarter of an hour to re-load.

The cause of all this disturbance was, that an attempt had been really made to carry off some of the oxen which formed a part of our convoy; this was repulsed in the noisy manner just described, and not afterwards repeated. Another fact was men-

tioned, which distinguishes this from the battle of Austerlitz, that all the guns, without any exception, were fired in the air. Malek Tombol, it appears, had given such orders; and in defence of his system of warfare, assured us, that it was frequently adopted by the Pasha, when in danger of being attacked at night. The name of the place is Abdoum, or, "the Father of Doum Trees:" three of these unhappy plants more immediately sheltered our hut, and were, therefore, the principal sufferers in the engagement; which we named, by the right given us by victory, in their honour, and for their immortality, "The Battle of the three Doum trees." Hadji Yacobe watched till morning. The only difference made to ourselves was, that we finished the night more warmly clothed than we had begun it.

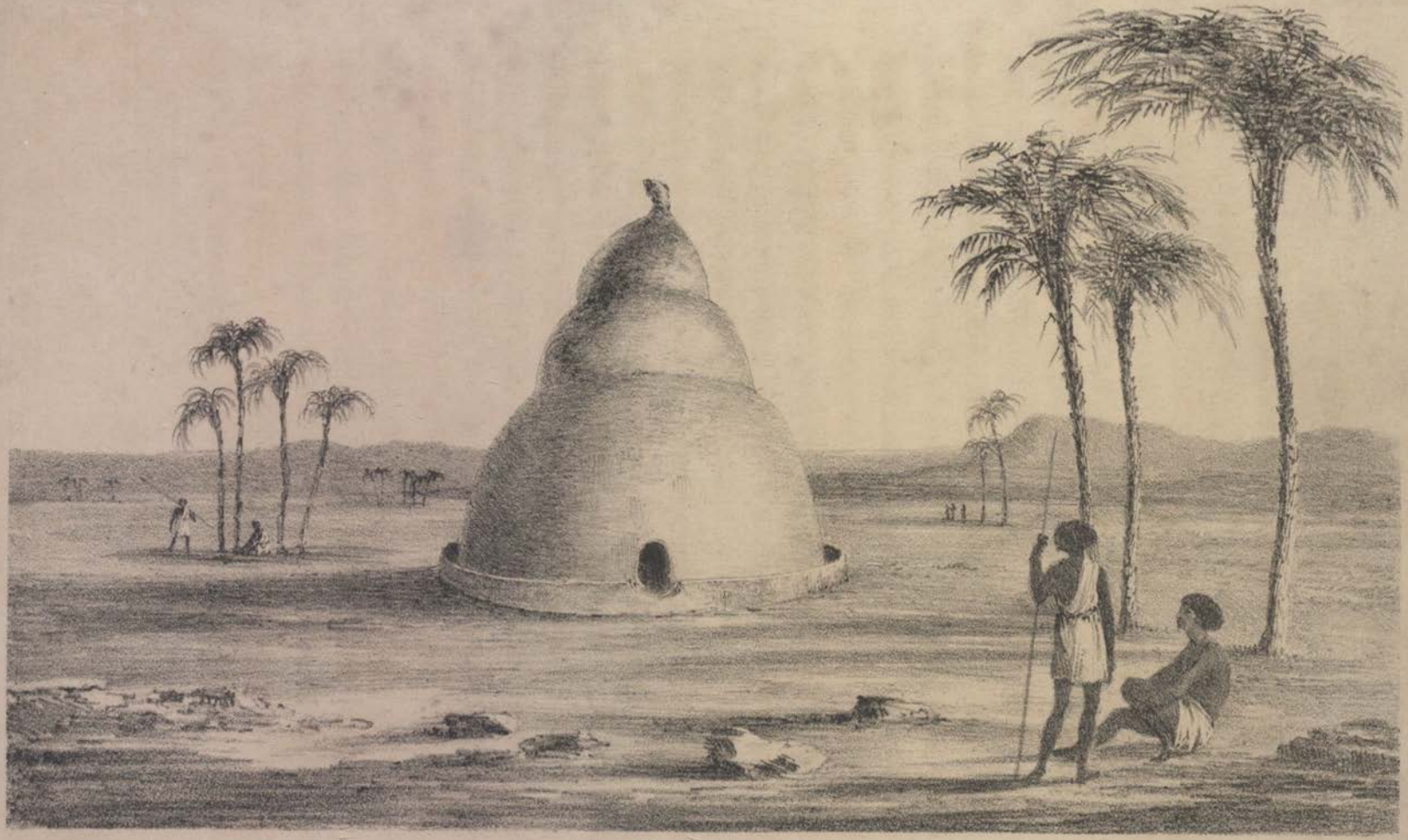
Dec. 28. We left the scene of action early: and, in one mile, passed three saints' tombs, and then continued to skirt the green ground; which is here broad, and well cultivated, for two miles more. We then rode across the bare desert as far as five miles; when we came among some straggling trees again, not far from a sakie. Our direction, for the first three miles was West; then W.N.W.

It was a fine cool morning, and a most curious scene was our motley caravan scattered over the desert at sun-rise: it was composed of all kinds of animals, from camels to goats; mixed with men and women, of all ages, and a great number of children, some of whom were mounted on very young asses, proportioned, as it would seem, to their own age, and all nearly naked. Of

our cavalry, some were clothed in light blue gowns, given them probably by the Pasha, and some in the dusty cloaks of the country; some carry muskets with feathers in the mouth, others are armed with spears; all with swords. Some of our guards again, are mounted on camels, others are on foot; and all bare-headed, were it not for the covering afforded by their thick and shaggy locks. There prevails through the whole, the most perfect confusion of movements and sounds. The Maleks, in thin red cloaks and caps, or shawls, (which they generally wear round the head so as to fall loosely over the shoulders) advance more stately, with their courtiers about them; Hadji Yacobe is very important on his horse; and Giovanni very comfortable on his strong Cairine jack-ass. Mr. Hanbury, as a thorough Turk, adds to the variety and dignity of the scene; as my own Frank dress increases, no doubt, its singularity. The peasants going down with us, were those whom the Sheygy'a had, from time to time, carried away to cultivate their ground, and whom the Pasha had now left free to return home. Some of them were setting fire to the bushes to warm their hands in passing; and others pelting down the apples* from the doum trees, as their only chance of breakfast.

In six miles and a half, our road was through the desert, though there is a green strip, apparently half a mile broad, by the river-side. The chain of mountains on the other side is

* The taste of the doum apple is exactly that of gingerbread.



On Stone by A. Aglio.

Printed by N. Chater

A SAINT'S TOMB.

Published as the Act directs, by John Murray, Albemarle Street, March 6, 1822.

broken by an interval of four or five miles, filled up with sand-hills. Our direction was latterly N.W. Here the palms end, with the fertility of which they are the usual signs and attendants, though the acacias continue to be thinly scattered on all sides over the desert.

In twelve miles we came to the ruined town of Dabdi, with several tombs near; one is much larger than the rest, and, like them, conical: the wall is very thick, and seems chiefly built of mud, though entirely cased with brick in the inside; twenty feet may be the diameter of its interior, and from thirty to forty feet the height. There are in it, five bodies, lying side by side, marked by stones at the head and feet; and to a thin rope hung across from wall to wall, are attached numerous scraps of linen, short pieces of cord, and a small string of wooden beads: they are offerings made to the virtues of the dead, and are more interesting, and not less sacred, from their being presented by the hand of poverty. Many leaves of paper, covered with Arabic writing, passages probably from the Koran, are scattered about the graves—scattered, no doubt, with pious intention, by the natives of a land where the pink and asphodel do not blossom.

The ground near it is now desert; but a number of palms, withering there, proves it to have been once cultivated and irrigated, either by a canal from the Nile, or by wells of water found on the spot. A mile beyond, is another similar town. We then approached the green banks of the Nile: and, in a mile more, came to the river itself, opposite to two islands,

called Argi and Jouri. Our direction, with little variation, had been W.byN., for the last seven miles.

In fifteen miles and a half from Abdoum, we came to some considerable burnt brick ruins, named Kassi Arrian, or "The Naked Cup:" they are close by the water's edge, and the greater part of the castle still remains. An unsuccessful attempt was made by Malek Tombol, to detain us here for the rest of the day, on account of the absence of Mr. Hanbury, who was gazelle-shooting in the Desert. On this occasion, an Italian trait of old Paolo much amused me: he took me aside during the dispute, and, in as low a whisper as if his language had been intelligible to the savages about us, communicated to me his suspicions of treachery; and added, that he should not consider himself out of danger till he arrived at Assouan*.

In a mile and a half from Kassi Arrian, we passed a burial-ground among the acacias; where is a saint's tomb, like the one I entered in the morning, and full of bats. And, in three miles and a half, still through the trees, and in the direction N.N.W., we came to the village Jebríah. There is a mud ruin on the edge of the Desert; but the houses are near the river.

This evening, Malek Tombol, in a private conversation with

* This magnanimous man was by profession a marker at a billiard-table at Cairo; but, by the influence of his fellow-countryman, Drovetti, he became, somewhat suddenly, a very skilful apothecary. In consequence of which metamorphosis, he considered himself as occupying a kind of middle rank between ourselves and our servants; who, in acknowledgment of this rank, and yet unable to consider him quite a Signore, called him, by abbreviation, *Sir* Paolo.

Hadji Yacobe, complains, with an air of melancholy, that though in possession of the exclusive affections of four wives, he has the misfortune to be yet childless. He wishes to learn whether we can furnish him with any remedies for his calamity, which may enable him more effectually to visit *all* his wives; "for," he modestly adds, "I find I am not respected without children."

Dec. 29. The Malek requested half an hour's grace in the time of setting out, on account of what he considered the extreme cold of the morning, the thermometer being about 50° at sunrise. For a mile and a half we rode (direction N.N.W.) through some shrubs called *arvi*, which we had not observed in Europe, and whose leaf is used by the natives to whiten the teeth. In six miles we observed, opposite to us, some high hills on the other bank.

The country within three or four miles, on both sides of Jebríah, is peculiarly abundant in antelopes; and by a party, some of them stationed among the trees on the edge of the Desert, and others moving about nearer the river, a great many might be shot in a very short time; for the gazelle, when disturbed at its food or drink, immediately makes off to the Desert. I had some shots at such as accidentally crossed the road, but as it was necessary to fire with a single ball at full gallop, and generally at a great distance, I did not kill one; my friend followed them with more ardour among the bushes and over the sands, but not with greater success: we were both sorry that a variety

of circumstances prevented us from passing one or two sporting days on the spot. A little below this place, Giovanni, riding by the river side, observed several birds feeding together among the trees, which by his description must have been Guinea-fowl.

In ten miles we came rather nearer to the palms, which had all along attended the Nile, and from which we were never less than one, and sometimes two or three, miles distant. Mr. Hanbury and I were here about half a mile a-head of the rest, when we saw Yacobe galloping furiously towards us; when he came near enough to be audible, he informed us that "the caravan was attacked," and rode back again. We were not long in following: in our way to join the cavalry in the rear, where the action was supposed to be going on, we passed the camels, with our luggage, plans, and drawings, and committed them to the care of the Maltese and Italians, three of whom were well armed. We proceed, and find Malek Tombol in the midst of his men, all talking loudly, but not yet fighting. Mr. Hanbury joins the circle, and demands where is the enemy. I was at a few yards' distance, employed in wrapping up some balls in paper, to load quicker during the battle, as I had no cartridges, when I observed his Majesty raise a very large nabboot, and strike one of his men; the man, being on horseback, starts off into the Desert, and the angry monarch is instantly after him. The fight becomes a chase; and the king, being better mounted than the subject, frequently overtakes, and as often chastises him, and does not cease to pursue and to strike, till the faithless

weapon breaks short in his hand; he then returns, with an air that announces to us, that, for the second time, victory has declared in our favour. It appeared, that there had been a fray between two parties of his own men, who, engaging with sword and shield, had raised the war-cry, which was mistaken for that of an enemy. This serious encounter will be called in history the "Day of Sticks;" it would have appeared with more dignity as a second Journée des Épérons, but, unfortunately, the heels of both combatants were observed to be unarmed* and naked.

In about three miles and a half more we came to a small village, and here turned off into the green ground, which we had lately skirted, and rode for above a mile in a northerly direction, through the richest possible wilderness, more luxuriant and less cultivated than the forests of Argo. We found the Nile beyond it flowing N.W., and following the bank for a mile, arrived nearly opposite to Old Dongola, where the river is unusually broad. Our direction to-day had been, upon the whole, a little to the N. of W., and sometimes W.N.W.

We determined to pass the night on this spot, and to employ the afternoon in examining the capital; and as Malek Tombol had some business to transact with the King of Dóngola, we were

* Spurs are very rare in this country; the few we have seen are shaped like ours, but with the rowel much bigger and quite dull, as the natives boast that the mere touch is sufficient for their horses. Malek Tombol afterwards gave one such to Mr. Hanbury; and during our residence near Benni, a pair was exchanged in that island for a very fine calf.

to cross the river together. The ferry-boat had been waiting some time, when we sent to inquire whether his Majesty was ready to embark. We received for answer, that he had thought it decorous, previous to this visit to his brother Sovereign, to order his only shirt to be washed; this operation had been actually performed, and we observed it suspended on an acacia to be dried: its royal owner had consulted decency by retiring during this interval among the trees. After some time the vestment, which was of no very fine material, is pronounced to be once more fit for service, and Tombol is again a king.

The boat was like one before described, but much larger, as we were now certainly not less than fifty passengers; one of these ended a long examination of my dress by asking, whether the buttons were not of gold. The sailors accompany their exertions in rowing by a short lively song, which had only one variation and tone, and is always sung with great spirit; it is one of the many in use in Egypt *, and the only one here.

* The favourite song with Reiss Bedoui, the Captain of our cangee, and that which seemed most effectual in stimulating his sailors, was nearly as follows:—Reiss Bedoui. "Sailors, pull at your oars." Chorus of sailors. "God and Mahommed." Reiss. "May God bless and assist you." Cho. "God," &c. Reiss. "You are men, not children." Cho. "God," &c. Reiss. "My boys, you shall ride in chariots." Cho. "God," &c. Reiss. "The sun is setting." Cho. "God," &c. Reiss. "The coffee is boiling." Cho. "God," &c. Reiss. "The sheep is killed." Cho. "God," &c. Reiss. "May your wives be beautiful and fruitful." Cho. "God," &c. Reiss. "The wind and the current are against us, but God is with us." Cho. "God," &c.—The verse is given out in a kind of hoarse recitative by the Captain, but the effect of the whole is peculiarly animating and agreeable, and productive of sensations known only to those who have glided down between the palmy shores of the Nile on a calm and moonlight evening.

On landing we walked up to a kind of house, where we were received by the King of Dóngola. It appeared that he had lately lost a relative, as the fast* ceremonies consisted in public lamentations, performed in the manner we had before witnessed; the effect here was still more singular from the greater number of persons engaged. After it was over the condolers turned round with their eyes generally wet, and faces full of woe; one or two seemed more seriously in earnest than the rest, and had the appearance of people excessively afflicted: they reserve all their grief, no doubt, for this moment, and trouble themselves little with sorrow either before or after it. In this instance there were two parties of mourners, of which the second were less clamorous than the others, and discharged their affliction more speedily.

During the most pathetic part of this scene, the King of Dóngola suddenly threw his eyes for the first time upon me, standing in my Frank dress† among the crowd of savages. My gravity

* This ceremony is differently performed at Berber.—See Burckhardt, p. 225.

† My late assumption of a black hat, added to my want of beard and of sustained gravity, and a certain habit of employing the intervals of repose in writing, instead of smoking, had for some time subjected me to the suspicion of *Infidelity;* and, what was much worse, excited doubts as to my being a personage of the extreme consequence I had been represented.

Writing in these countries, like smoking in ours, is not common in the higher classes. Abdin Casheff could neither read nor write; and Malek Ibrahim, and even his prime minister and Arabic interpreter, were in the same state of ignorance—though more excusably, as their *native* language is not a written one. Smoking, on the other hand, is the employment of all who can afford tobacco; and it was pro-

was never put to a severer test than by the effect produced on his countenance and manner by the extreme surprise with which he regarded me.

Above twenty large and well-built tombs behind the town, and a variety of houses and castles on the tops of the hills about, prove Dóngola to have once been a place of importance. About five miles lower down the river I observed a very fine stripe of green, at least four or five miles broad, extending without visible end into the Desert; there appear to be houses in it at a considerable distance from the Nile. The city, in its days of populousness, has been obliged, no doubt, to this tract, and the opposite bank, for its provisions, as its immediate neighbourhood presents a scene of utter barrenness, containing, however, some features of grandeur, which are animated by the works of other days, every where scattered about.

Our first visit was to the "Church of Yesous *," which has evidently been once a monastery, and is now a mosque. While we were engaged in the examination of it, the two kings met there for religious purposes; they said with great devotion the prayers of Peace and Faith on a spot that had originally been consecrated to the worship of Christ.

bably to want of the means that they attributed my abstinence from the summum bonum.

Even my friend had not altogether escaped suspicion; it was whispered that he had been observed to drink *during* his meals, which is a violation, I believe, of the customs of good Mussulmen.

* See Burckhardt—Notes on Appendix III.

We ascended four or five staircases, of nine or ten steps each, to a small square room, of which the roof is supported by four stone pillars about ten feet high; a recess opposite the entrance, which has been probably the altar, proves it to have been the chapel of the convent; there are two or three little chambers round about the chapel, and a kind of arch on the roof on the outside. The building is chiefly of mud, and much the largest in the city, as well as the most conspicuous from the river.

About two hundred yards N.W. of the convent are the bases (or perhaps the tops, for there is much sand heaped there) of five small pillars, the two largest of which are twenty inches in diameter; and near them are two lesser, level with the surface of the ground. Some of these are of red, and others of grey, granite; they seem placed without any regularity: a capital, now reduced to a grinding-stone, with the Cross sculptured upon it, is lying near. In about two hundred yards more, in a direction parallel to the Nile, are two grey granite pillars of rather larger diameter, one of which is standing, and the other thrown down. Another capital, or pedestal, lies on the spot, ornamented also with the Cross, and, like the rest of these uninteresting remains of the age, probably, of Justinian.

After dusk we returned to the palace, where we were first received, hoping, as we were a good deal fatigued, to experience the hospitality of the King of Dóngola. In our way thither we traversed the whole length of the city, which, in its thick mud

walls, regular streets, and huge massive doors, exactly resembles Mcrawe; it contains a large stone castle, and every house is a fortification. Nothing can be more gloomy and desolate; the streets are full of sand, and a very few miserable inhabitants are seen sitting before two or three of the doors; so that in a place capable of containing several thousand people, there are not, we were assured, above two hundred. In the time of Poncet *, the town was half deserted, but still of importance, and we were told that it continued to have flourishing bazaars, and to be the centre of some commerce, till, by the victory of Malek Zobeyr, over the King of Argo, it became tributary to the Sheygy'a. It suffered another shock about ten years ago, when a civil war, between the two kings of those Arabs, having greatly depopulated Dar Sheygy'a, they supplied the loss by carrying away many of the inhabitants of Dóngola. The establishment of the Mamelouks at Maragga, by raising up a new Dóngola, gave the finishing blow to the commerce and consequence of the old city †.

With the opulence of the capital had perished the hospitality of the monarch; a few rat-eaten dates, and a calabash of water, were the only refreshments the palace afforded us. We were detained there some time longer by a violent dispute between a native of Argo and the King of Dóngola. The Argive demands possession of one of his wives, a native of Dóngola, and now residing there; the king tells him to come there, and live with

* See Appendix II. † See Appendix III.

his wife—here Malek Tombol interferes, and the royal difference thus is, whether He of Argo shall lose a male subject, or He of Dóngola a female. Loud and angry words are exchanged, with furious gestures; they frequently start from their seats on the ground about the blazing fire, and then as suddenly recompose themselves, and after the most violent threats and maledictions, settle the affair without loss of blood.

It was now quite dark, and we had to walk two or three miles through bushes and very thick underwood to our boat, which Reiss Selyman had dragged thus far up the river, that we might not float down below our place of encampment. As our party was now increased by a variety of animals, so that the side of the boat was but a few inches above the water's edge, Malek Tombol began to jabber a very long prayer in Arabic for our safety. He was interrupted by a dispute among the sailors, which he settled, as usual, by the application of his nabboot, that he always carried with him like a sceptre, to the head and limbs of Reiss Selyman. We then proceeded in quiet, and about midnight were safely landed on the other side.

The people of this country seem careless and fearless; they are not active* in doing harm, but are not easily frightened by threats. We had occasion to menace one of them, for some act of knavery, with the vengeance of Abdin Casheff; he only laughed at the threat, from the assurance that it could not be

* The name Dongoláwy is considered at Shendy as equivalent to that of Jew in Europe.—See Burckhardt, p. 279.

executed immediately, and from the habit, common to all savages, of never looking forward beyond the morrow.

Dec. 30. Malek Tombol sent us a mess of boiled milk, much burnt, filled with lumps of dough kneaded into small rolls and boiled up with the milk. In consequence of the error into which we had been led at the camp, we considered it as a new year's offering, and consumed it in celebration of the day.

We set off late, and for three miles and a half rode over rich land, chiefly by the Nile side, and, through an equal space, over a sandy plain, close by the river; we then came to a ruined town named Ollob, with many brick remains. Our direction had been W.N.W. We then left the green ground, which is at first narrow, and kept more to the left, over a barren tract, which had once been cultivated, and is still capable of cultivation; the soil is black, covered with a thin surface of sand. After travelling ten miles, we observed two black mountains opposite to us on the other side, in shape one conical and the other pyramidal. In eleven miles and a half are some sand-hills, and then a saint's tomb and some mud ruins half a mile to the left; and in twelve miles we entered the shrubs again. In about a mile more we passed some brick and mud ruins; the trees begin to thicken, and there are appearances of cultivation; and in thirteen miles and a half we came to a large village named Bakkil. Our direction latterly was variable, but generally North, and our road from a quarter of a mile to a mile

from the Nile. We observed* many doum trees in different places in the Desert on our left, and at a great distance from the river.

Here Malek Tombol was greeted by a former subject, who sacrificed a cow in his honour—so very palatable an honour, and likely to be productive of so much real service to all of us, that we determined to pass the afternoon and night at this place. There is a very rich island near, named Aroom, separated from the main land by a channel, about a hundred yards broad, and now almost dry. The island is nearly a mile in width, luxuriant and ill cultivated, and full of ring-doves and quails. We had for some days seen nothing of the dog Anubis, and began to be anxious about his fate: he returned to-day, at a happy moment, thin and ill and nearly famished, and no longer the lion-dog of Dar Sheygy'a.

Our tent was pitched to-night in a small opening in the middle of a grove, the entrance facing an avenue of palms. After dark the servants lighted a very large fire† before the door; their long shadows, and those of the natives with them, passed over the delicate branches of the palms, never seeming so much so as with the red fire blazing on them; the Pleiades and the Hyades were looking in from above, and Orion twinkled

* Ismael Pasha told us that he had seen the remains of wells at more than five miles' distance from the Nile, in Dóngola.

† As much wood was consumed in this fire as would have cost ten dollars at Cairo.

through the trees: other fires were seen through the openings, and the savages were shouting about us.

Dec. 31. In about three miles we passed, on the right, some ruined mud buildings on the edge of the green ground. The land for some distance on our left was flat and cultivable, and many trees were visible at a distance. The whole plain was covered with the tracks of gazelles, scattered, in general, irregularly about; in other places, I have seen narrow winding paths, traced by their delicate feet, and probably many miles in length, leading down from the mountains to the Nile, to some spot, perhaps, where the shrubs are sweeter or the water more clear. The mirage* is no where more beautiful than here, and I have remarked, that the two or three places, where I have seen this phenomenon in the greatest perfection, have been peculiarly haunted by the antelope, as if she loved the banks of that fairy sea, and delighted to chase or gaze upon its fugitive waters. It is a singular coincidence with this observation, that the mirage is called by the Arabs of the Desert, "the Lake, or River, of Gazelles."

Our general direction was North, and we observed a long chain of low hills on the other side of the river, about half a mile distant from it. An animal about two feet long, with a head like that of a fox, and the motions of a cat, started up before us, and all the horsemen and dogs were instantly after it:

* I have seen the mirage within two, and even one, hour of sun-rise and sun-set, but not so broad and extensive as when the sun is higher.

we ran it about half a mile, when the first spearsman threw and missed it; the second, who was on foot, killed it at about ten yards' distance. The skin was presented to us by the Malek.

In six miles more we passed some mud ruins; and in ten miles and a half, some small stony hills and some masses of schist. In eleven miles are some more ruins, and increasing verdure and fertility. In half a mile more begin some stone hills, about half a mile to our left, running nearly North and South: our own direction, like that of the river, being N.N.W. Here begins the district of Handech.

In fourteen miles we came to two small tombs, built of very large bricks, well situated on the hills close by the road-side; and in about a mile more, after passing some other tombs, to the ruins of Handech.

The lower part of the South wall of the castle is built of large stones, and the upper of small ones or bricks; about the middle of this upper part are three layers of stones, not extending quite the whole length of the wall, of the size and architecture of the best temples, forming a singular contrast with the rest of the building, which is exactly like the fortresses commonly found in these countries. On the West side of it are some other stones similarly laid, but not remaining so regularly as those described. I can only conjecture that the whole castle was originally of that better style of masonry, which is found in the remains at Taffa in Nubia, and that it has been from time

to time repaired and rebuilt with the meaner materials in use in after ages. The height at which these stones are placed, and the regularity with which they are laid, prevents the supposition that the whole building is modern, and erected from the ruins of some former edifice. Either supposition proves that Handech, as well as Dóngola, was a place of importance before the downfall of the arts in Africa.

In the inside of the castle was found a black granite mortar, very like that in the fortress at Ibrim, but much larger; and a mosque supported by some pillars. It was the palace of Malek Chowes, who, till the arrival of the Mamelouks, frequently resided at Handech as his capital; at present there seem to be scarcely two hundred people in the place.

Here was the southern boundary of the kingdom of the Mamelouks.

On the left side of the road beyond the city is a burial ground, extending for above half a mile along the edge of the Desert; and in three miles is another similar one, and a building near, which is apparently an old church. The graves are invariably covered with a great number of the clearest white quartz stones. In five miles we came to a large stony plain, bounded on the left by the hills before mentioned, which, after coming down close to the river at Handech, again go off to the N.W., and end in about six miles from the city, and two from the Nile. After five miles and a half we turned off across the cultivated open plain, covered with flocks and camels, reaching

from the stony plain to the Nile. Our direction thus far had been N.N.W.; then in about one mile (N. by E.) we came to a small village by the Nile side, and in one mile more, (N.N.W.) through rich and cultivated ground to another village, named Sori, near the Nile. As we advanced in the kingdom of the Mamelouks, the country improved in fertility and population; the men walk about with their spears in their hands, and seem as well disposed to their present, as they are said to have been to their late, masters.

Jan. 1. 1821. An unsuccessful call was made upon our surgical skill by a very young boy, who during the wars between the Sheygy'a and the Mamelouks, had received a ball in the arm, from one of the former (as he said), for having refused to cut corn for their horses; the ball had been extracted by the Mamelouk surgeons, but the wound was not yet healed, and in want of all remedies had long been left to nature; the boy had, in consequence, lost the use of his arm.

In a mile and a half, over cultivated ground, we came to the scattered village, Erbou, built on a stony place in the midst of verdure; and in as much more to Serrigdel, where is a large burial ground. In five miles there were some stony hills close on our left, and our direction changed from N.N.W. to N. We observed, soon afterwards, two old buildings on the tops of the rocks, which they told us were Christian. In seven miles we passed a ruined town and burial ground; and, in eight, another burial ground and saint's tomb, like those examined before.

The road is between the hills and the Nile, and very near both. In nine miles, after having already passed one church, we reached a second, surrounded by graves, and soon after an old village, by the road-side; and, in eleven miles, a very large ruined town, partly inhabited, with a burial ground. Some of the graves have, at their head and foot, a small pyramidal construction of mud and brick; and on the north of the town is a brick church, with the paintings of angels over the altar; the colours retained much of their original freshness. There was a well in the church, and three or four of the same kind cut in the solid rock about it; the roof had fallen in, except a part of the cupola.

The houses in this and, I believe, all the villages in this part of the country, have a large stone over the door, covered with Arabic inscriptions. This place is called Keneeza, and in a mile more the district of Handech ends, and that of Hannach begins.

Between fourteen and fifteen miles we passed a number of ruined houses, and at fifteen miles the green ground widened, and the hills on our left became less considerable; we observed a large burial ground on our right, and heard the sound of sakies from the Nile. In sixteen miles we came to another large ruined town, named Kait, with saints' tombs, some of which are conical, of four or five stories, and others pyramidal, but all of mud. We observed one or two old churches among the ruins, which are scattered for a great length along the edge

of the Desert. In sixteen miles and a half we passed some perpendicular sandstone rocks, close by the road, which was near the river, and soon afterwards a small matted village opposite to the end of an island, which is about a mile long. There were some other smaller islands below, already mentioned in our progress up the river. The cultivable ground, for the last three or four miles, is no where above three hundred yards broad, and seldom one hundred; and a line of saints' tombs extends for miles along the tops of the stony hills on our left.

In nineteen miles we passed a deserted village, and in another half mile a large ruined town; near it are above thirty saints' tombs, of which three or four are pyramidal, and several chiefly of brick; we also observed the remains of several Christian churches. The houses are all of stone, and about as well built as the stone fences used in some parts of England. In twenty-one miles and a half we reached a small village, called Momfoch, by the name of the Mamelouk chief who built it. We halted here for the night, and were entertained with great civility by the inhabitants. The country has been more fertile of late; and this place is situated among the trees, at about a quarter of a mile from the river.

Here we met the Reiss of the Cataracts going up to the army, to superintend the passage of the Shelál of Doulgá; he made us a very acceptable present of some of the Pasha's spirits, and informed us, that he had seen our cangee and its

crew a few days ago, waiting where had we left them, at Wady Halfa. A person died in the village during the night, and we were kept awake for some time by the loud and continued lamentations of the female inhabitants.

Jan. 2. In about two miles the palms become very thick by the river-side, and after riding for about four more, over a rich but uncultivated plain, full of large covies of long-winged partridges, which took unusually short flights, and afforded us excellent sport, we arrived at Marágga. The mud part of the town seems capable of containing not more than six hundred or eight hundred people; but the greater part of the inhabitants, who are said to be very numerous, live in straw huts among the trees. The plain is very low here, and symptoms of inundation are visible at nearly two miles from the river. There are several large holes, whence the mud was taken to build the town, and which are now filled with stagnant water. Some marshy ground near assists in accounting for an intermittent fever, which generally prevails here after the inundation has retired.

We found, in consequence, many of the inhabitants and all the soldiers ill, including our old friend, the Aga, Haffussar, to whom we were obliged for our passage to the army. He was delighted to see us again, took us frequently by the hand, and talked with rapture of his native Constantinople.

As our horses and camels were very much fatigued, Malek Tombol came to request us to allow them to repose for the

remainder of the day here, to which proposal we gave our consent very readily; we were not sorry to be enabled to pass a few hours in examining the late capital of the Mamelouks, and to collect a number of facts relative to their arrival and residence in that country, and departure from it.

I shall be excused if I shortly continue the account of a body of men, whose history is, in one point, so unfortunately connected with our own; if no longer formidable from their numbers and courage, they are, at least, become interesting by their misfortunes; and those who will not allow their admiration to the finest and most intrepid horsemen in the world, will, perhaps, bestow their pity on a band of persecuted wanderers, the victims of repeated treachery*.

On their first appearance in the year 1812, on the frontiers of Mahass, they appear to have found Mahommed, Casheff of that country, at war with Malek Tombol†; and Mahommed engaged to receive them as friends, on condition that they would assist him in the destruction of Tombol. They were under two chiefs, who seem to have been independent of each other, and often, as in this case, at variance. Ibrahim Bey, the same who, during the massacre in the citadel at Cairo, escaped by leaping his horse

* See Burckhardt, p. 12, 13.

† This Malek describes himself to have been then shut up by his more powerful enemies, in his strong castle on the Island of Tumbos—probably that mentioned by Burckhardt, as being in the Island of Mosho. There is no island of that name, though Tumbos is nearly opposite to the district of Moshi.

over the walls into the trench below*, was one; and Abdah Rochmán Bey, the other. Ibrahim would have accepted the proposal of Mahommed; but the other would not hastily consent to the extinction of so great a man as Malek Tombol: and, on their arrival at Argo, whither they immediately advanced, they examined the merits of the case, and decided in favour of that monarch. They finally established themselves in that country (in the manner mentioned by Burckhardt), by a treacherous massacre of the Sheygy'a, who, resident as governors in Argo, received them as friends, and entertained them with that unsuspicious hospitality for which, like most other brave savages, they were remarkable—the Mamelouks, from their sufferings, had learnt only faithlessness and ingratitude.

The Casheff of Mahass began now to be afraid of his new neighbours, and, with the hope of causing their destruction, strongly pressed them to undertake an expedition into Dar Sheygy'a; the Mamelouks challenged him to place himself at their head, and guide them thither; this the Casheff did not think proper to comply with, and immediately put himself under the protection of Mahommed Ali.

The establishment of the Mamelouks in this country seems not to have been immediately followed by any violent war with the Sheygy'a; but a treaty was made, by which the whole western bank of the river, and the islands, from Handech on the

* The horse was crushed to death—Ibrahim escaped nearly unhurt.

south, to Hannech, the frontier town of Dóngola on the north, were ceded to the invaders. They selected Maragga for their capital; and, as they had brought with them a great deal of money*, in Spanish dollars and Venetian sequins, and gave great encouragement to foreign traders, forbidding, at the same time, any of their own subjects to trade out of their country,—it was not long before that city became the centre of much commerce; and gradually increasing in size, assumed the name of New Dóngola†; the old city still remained in the hands of the Sheygy'a. They also introduced some improvements in the cultivation of the country, and encouraged the growth of wheat instead of Dhourra: yet, upon the whole, the Argives seem to have gained little by their change of masters. The taxes‡ during the government of the Sheygy'a were moderate, and always divided equally between themselves and the King; whereas, the Mamelouks took one-third of the produce of the whole country: besides which they were constantly harassed by the Sheygy'a, who were much better liked as governors than as enemies. Some peasants told us, that frequently, soon after midnight, they used to be roused by the war-cry of the Arabs, who had contrived to conceal themselves on the main-land till that moment, and then swam their horses, by tying empty

* The remains, perhaps, of the plunder of Nubia. See Burckhardt, p. 33.

† We were assured by some Gellabs, who were lamenting its present situation, that it was a market frequented even by the traders from Darfour; and that all articles were to be found there at the same price as at Cairo.

‡ See Burckhardt, p. 66.

leathern bags under their bellies, across the river. Instant confusion and flight was the consequence, and those were thought happy who could save themselves by the sacrifice of their property; for, as the Sheygy'a landed on different islands at the same time, it was difficult to distinguish whence exactly their shout came. These predatory incursions were executed with such rapidity, that the assistance of the Mamelouks generally arrived too late; sometimes, however, they surprised the robbers, and took a terrible vengeance on those they caught, by impaling them, in every instance, in the most public places, by the road-side.

About twenty months after their establishment, they made an expedition against Malek Chowes, on the invitation of Malek Zobeyr, who was then at war with the king of Merawe. They are said to have beaten the Sheygy'a at Koraigh, killing one hundred and fifty of them, and to have sent back a triumphant message to their wives, who were not (as Burckhardt was informed) molested by the enemy during the absence of their husbands. Malek Tombol served himself in this campaign, and was present at the action, and assured us that the victory was extremely glorious. Against the weight of his royal testimony it can hardly be urged, that the next battle was fought at Hettán, so that the conquerors must have retreated about fifty miles after their success. This second battle they certainly did gain; but owing to some difference between the Chiefs, Ibrahim Bey returned with part of the army to Maragga, and

Abdah Rochman followed up the Sheygy'a with the rest, though, it would seem, with no permanent effect. However, the various events of these wars did not at all shake the security of their establishment in Dóngola, where, but for the persevering hatred of Mahommed Ali, they would have continued to rule* and improve the kingdom they had founded. Their arms†, and their skill and intrepidity in using them, were the admiration of their subjects, and the Arabs themselves reluctantly allowed them to be the best horsemen in the world.

The residence of respectable artizans among them is proved by their having constructed two or three boats with sails, which they destroyed before their departure, except one, which they gave to the Sheygy'a; foreseeing, no doubt, that those Arabs would oppose the progress of the Turks, and willing to furnish one enemy with the means of injuring another more powerful and more inveterate: they had also one or two French surgeons with them.

After being established for some months in Dóngola, they sent back most of their Cairine wives, and married the daughters of the native Nubians; these preserved to them, even in their latest misfortunes, the most sincere attachment; many left their country and fled with them, and those who remained behind

* Burckhardt, in the year 1813, was of a contrary opinion; contrary to that of all the subjects of the Mamelouks, and, I believe, all their enemies.—See p. 73.

† Each man had a double-barrelled gun, two brace of pistols, a sabre, and a dagger: the firearms generally of English manufacture.

continued faithful to their wandering husbands*, and used to declare they would rather die than injure them. They say that it is not the Pasha, but God, who has driven them away; thus exerting their predestinarian principles to console their own misfortunes, and to vindicate the honour of their husbands.

Ibrahim Bey died soon after the expedition against Merawe, and Abdah Rochman Bey was left at the head of the remaining warriors. He is said to be of a noble person and undaunted mind; horses stand trembling at his voice, and he has dromedaries that obey no call but his. When the Pasha, just before his last expedition, sent a message to the Mamelouks, full of flattering promises in case of their submission, it was he who returned the haughty answer, "Tell Mahommed Ali, that we will be on no terms with our servant." And accordingly, as the Turkish troops continued to advance, in the month of June, after an unusually grand celebration of the Ramadan, the brave exiles took their departure for Shendy; they were themselves three hundred, with double that number of women and slaves; they had lost about one hundred during their residence in Dóngola. The Sheygy'a had heard of their intended departure, and, while lying in ambush to surprise them, were themselves surprised. The Mamelouks took several prisoners, whom they immediately beheaded; and thus the last act of intercourse between these warlike neighbours was marked by the same spirit

* Ismael Pasha protected such of these women as fell into his hands, and obliged the soldiers to respect their chastity.

of implacable hostility that distinguished all the preceding ones. This parting blow of the Mamelouks was amply revenged on their late subjects by an irruption of the Arabs, who seized the flocks and violated the women, and carried some of the inhabitants* away into their own country.

In the mean time, the Mamelouks had crossed the Desert from Korti to Shendy, where they were not received within the walls, but allowed to encamp without. They remained there till the successes of the Pasha over the Sheygy'a terrified the Mek of Shendy into a determination not to oppose the Turkish arms. He then ordered the Mamelouks to quit the country, and the greater part of them, under Abdah Rochman Bey, retired towards Darfour; some went in the opposite direction, to the banks of the Red Sea; and we were assured, on our return to Egypt, that a few, forgetful of the fate of all who had trusted to the promises of Mahommed Ali, had thrown themselves on the mercy of their persecutor.

An expedition, which was at that moment advancing from Egypt against Darfour, would† probably disperse or destroy the few who were still united under Abdah Rochman Bey; and the

* None of the inhabitants taken off from time to time by the Sheygy'a had hitherto ever returned; some were now of our party, whom the Pasha had found in Dar Sheygy'a, and dismissed to their former homes.

† It is just possible, that, in case of the submission of the King of Darfour, they may be able to effect their retreat through Kordofan to the banks of the Niger; but as they are still powerful enough to become an object of jealousy to petty princes, their ultimate destruction appears inevitable.

present details may be considered as the conclusion of the history of the Mamelouks.

That once dreaded name has e'er now ceased to exist; and, if it be forbidden to lament the extinction of a race of insolent, though intrepid, warriors, I may be allowed to express a hope, that they have not fallen by treachery, but have died, as they lived, with the sabre in their hand, avenging on the myrmidons of Mahommed Ali their severe and continued sufferings, their own fate, and the fate of their massacred comrades.

Jan. 3. Some bark, which we had yesterday administered to the Aga, having produced an effect far from beneficial, we tried a second prescription; and leaving him more medicine than we could well spare, took leave of him with much regret. He attributed his illness to an ugly figure *, which came to him every night, seized him by the arm, and in spite of all resistance led him out into the open air—"which is, no doubt (he adds), some temptation of the devil." He told this with great simplicity, and it would probably have been impossible to persuade him that the ugly figure was the consequence, and not the cause, of his fever.

Malek Tombol and his attendants became more familiar † as

* All Mahometans believe in the existence of ghosts.

† Travellers have expressed their astonishment and disgust at the habitual eructations of the Albanians; but I believe Argo to be the court where, under the auspices, and by the example, of Malek Tombol, that delicate art is carried to the highest possible perfection. The skill seemed to vary according to the rank of the performer; the royal family had the greatest merit, and the king himself was obviously the most accomplished man in his dominions.

they got better acquainted with us; and, as the tobacco still lasted, the interior, or door, of our tent was seldom free from their intrusions; and particularly at the moment of dressing, or eating, or packing, or whenever we were any how employed, they came to indulge their curiosity, and sat by staring at us, till we were obliged to dismiss them, not always very politely.

The Nubian monarch is not a good man of business. Some dispatches, which he had brought down from the Pasha to the Aga, he did not deliver till the moment of his departure from Maragga, having retained them in his possession for twenty hours after his arrival in this place: they contained a command for all the soldiers there to join the army, leaving the government of the whole country, from Argo to Handech, in the hands of Malek Tombol and his cousin. This proof of confidence rather increased the importance of our royal friend.

It was late, in consequence, before we set out. In four miles we passed some saints' tombs, three of which were of burnt brick, and in six miles we left the grass, on which we had thus far been riding, and entered an open and barren plain about two miles broad, of a black and rich soil; we travelled along it for about six miles (N. by W.), and then came to the Nile opposite to Magazi, the southernmost of the three islands which lie between Argo and the western bank. In three miles more (N.N.W., and not far from the palms) we again found ourselves on the bank, which we followed for two miles, and halted for the night opposite to the island of Benni. After we left the vicinity

of Maragga we saw little cultivation and few inhabitants, and no large town, though the cultivable ground extends generally to more than two miles' distance from the river.

The island of Benni, or My Son, is from eight to ten miles long, and not above one in breadth. King Tombol's matted capital was exactly opposite to our place of encampment. We heard guns firing and tambours beating, and loud and repeated *lilliloos* from the inhabitants, in welcome of the return of their sovereign. They had heard a report that he had been beheaded by the Pasha, and had been employed in lamenting his loss. His former residence was at the northern end of Argo; the Mamelouks had obliged him to establish himself at Benni, that he might be nearer to the centre of their kingdom, which was almost entirely confined to the West bank of the Nile; he professed to have had under their government a respectable force of cavalry armed with guns and pistols, though he allowed that the Sheygy'a with their lances were more than a match for him, when unassisted by the Mamelouks.

Jan. 4. This morning Malek Tombol, having passed the afternoon and night in preparation for return to his capital, crossed the river in a ferry-boat, dragged by swimming horses; the water is extremely deep, and the sight to us was quite new; they struggled well against the current, and were over in a very short time. His Majesty then landed on the island, and was received by a large body of his subjects, cavalry and infantry, armed, and apparently disposed to dispute his advance to the

palace. He instantly attacks them with the horsemen who have crossed with him, and a regular sham fight commences. The cavalry engaged on both sides probably amounted to fifteen, though some spectators could only count ten; the infantry was rather more numerous; a great number of charges were made, and much gunpowder expended, before the monarch could gain possession of his capital, and his four wives. This noisy scene lasted for about a quarter of an hour, and then the sakies began to work again, and all was quiet for the rest of the day.

The rest of the day was marked by no particular occurrence, except that we began, at the suggestion of Sir Paolo, to bake our bread on a gridiron, which proved an excellent substitute for the flat iron usual among the Turks. Tombol sent us over in the evening a fine lamb and a flask of palm wine; a boat was to be ready the next morning to convey us across from Benni to Argo, that we might revisit the antiquities which we had before examined there.

Jan. 5. Giovanni had yesterday suffered a severe attack of fever, which required the application of our medical skill; it was not exerted in vain, and on his pronouncing himself well, we crossed the river to Benni at about mid-day, accompanied by James and the Genoese. Malek Tombol sent down horses to the shore to meet us, but as they arrived a few seconds too late, we felt ourselves bound in dignity to refuse them, and go up to the fortress on foot.

In one corner of it was the King's straw palace, differing in no respect from any other hut. A sofa and an arm-chair, both of the manufacture of the country, were prepared for us, and himself sat with his legs crossed under him on another arm-chair opposite to us. We found him in remarkably good humour, and he often laughed aloud; but a frequent and violent roll of his eye proved, that an unprotected traveller would have fared very ill with him. Ten or twelve naked savages stood before him; they kiss his hand on receiving an order, or presenting any thing to him, and treat him with perfect respect; he had laid aside his red travelling cap, and assumes for these state occasions a dirty white one, which is far from increasing the royalty of his appearance.

We were doomed to experience his hospitality. We began the feast by disposing of two large cups of coffee each, which were followed by the usual mess of sour bread and meat; a beverage, miscalled sherbet, highly sweetened with very bad Egyptian sugar, was to be swallowed with it, and then came two other cups of coffee; presently, a large bowl of booza was placed before our two interpreters, who were seated on the ground near us. No strong liquors were offered to ourselves, from the fear, no doubt, of violating the supposed religious feelings of Mr. Hanbury—for my faith was no longer uncertain.

After dinner his Majesty became talkative; he mentioned the sham fight of yesterday with some diffidence, and hoped that it did not appear ridiculous to us. He spoke with pride of his

own family*, and with interest of the wars of the Mamelouks and Sheygy'a; and though he had joined, from necessity, the former, he seems to have been more attached to the latter.

Burckhardt† has said something in disparagement of the chastity of their women; and our question to his Majesty, on that subject, excited great laughter, as a cousin of the king's, then seated on his left hand, was the son of a female cousin of the great Malek Chowes. Malek Tombol condescended to be humorous and severe upon the general frailty and venality of the sex; and as the subject is of some interest, it may not be unimportant to give the very words of the Nubian monarch: "I believe," said he, "that, in *all* countries, if a very handsome woman be very much tempted, the result will be the same." As we were not successful in convincing him that to *our* country his rule was not applicable, we changed the subject of conversation to the literature and hospitality of the Sheygy'a, on both which heads he confirmed the accounts given by Burckhardt‡,

* His family name is Zebeyr, and the Tombol Ibn Zebeyr mentioned by Burckhardt (p. 72.) was his cousin, and not his brother.

† Page 71.

‡ See p. 70. "They are renowned for their hospitality, and the person of their guest or companion is sacred. If a traveller possesses a friend among them, and has been plundered on the road, his property will be recovered, even if it has been taken by the king. They all speak Arabic exclusively, and many of them write and read it. Their learned men are held in great respect by them; they have schools, wherein all the sciences are taught which form the course of Mahommedan study, mathematics and astronomy excepted. I have seen books, copied at Merawe, written in as fine a hand as that of the scribes of Cairo," *&c. &c.*

The Sheygy'a were also famous for their manufacture of variegated mats called

and on the latter, particularly, assured us that a traveller, properly recommended to one of their Chiefs, would have been nobly entertained by them.

In the afternoon we crossed to Argo, which is farther from Benni than Benni from the main land, and walked southward for about a mile on the shore, to the chief village, named also Argo; it is situated about the middle of the western shore of the island. Above it, also on this bank, are two villages, Hadji Samàr and Cortós. Agade is the only town of consequence on terra firma, on the East bank, near Argo.

From the village we proceeded to the statues, which are about four miles S.E. of it. The western side of Argo is in some places very sandy, and a little within is a great deal of low ground, now full of stagnant water and fishes and waterfowl; all this part of the island is said to be at this season particularly unhealthy. There are many bends in the shores both of Argo and Benni, and the width of the river between them is in consequence very variable. We found the statues as we had left them; we had written our names in ink on one of them, and the writing, which, from the author and the character being alike unknown, had caused a great sensation, was left untouched, except the *u* and the *o*'s, which the natives had carefully erased; though we could never learn the reason of their particular antipathy to those two letters.

Stoia, and their Serírs and Angereygs (Burckhardt, p. 213.) were more neatly fabricated than in Mahass and Dóngola.

The opinions* of the Nubians respecting the works of antiquity are different from those of the Arabs, who were our former conductors; and they consider the colossi, not as giants miraculously changed to stone, but as "the works of mighty men, instructed by God." These men, however, were not Mussulmen, and must therefore have been Christians or Idolaters, terms, with them, nearly synonymous. Now I had been long ago discovered to be an idolater; and while employed in the contemplation of these wonderful efforts of art, was pleased with the knowledge that I was considered, by the savages about me, as a pilgrim who had wandered thus far to worship the works of my ancestors.

Jan. 6. After passing a cold night in our great coats, in the cottage of a Nubian, who afforded us the best specimen we

* There was a dispute one day between two Nubians, part of the crew of our cangee, about their origin. One held that the Nubians were the descendants of those who had built the temples of Egypt and Nubia, and that they were then made Christians, and afterwards Mussulmen, by force. We must suppose, in this case, that many of the native Egyptians, on the Arabic conquest, fled into the upper countries. The other seemed influenced by a tradition, that they had all come more lately from the East. The former opinion would seem to be confirmed by the fact, that the Egyptian Arabs call the Nubians, in contempt, "Descendants of Pharaoh." We have, however, the evidence of Eratosthenes (as quoted by Strabo, lib. xvii.) that the Noubæ were a distinct and powerful race, inhabiting the left bank, from Meroe to the αγχωνες of the Nile; and it is by subsequent conquest that they have extended their name as far as Assouan. Fugitives from Egypt may have mingled with them and taken their name, but it is impossible to suppose that they form the body of the nation.—See Burckhardt, p. 133.

† I was once asked by a Turkish soldier, in the great temple at Philæ, whether that edifice was the work of the English or the French.

had found of the hospitality and cookery of his country, we proceeded to make an attempt at excavation. Malek Tombol had sent with us three body-guards armed with swords and guns, without whose assistance it would have been impossible to procure workmen. It was with great difficulty that these men could be prevailed upon to engage in this service, and they absolutely refused to stir, "till the sun has warmed the world." Even with their aid, none can be persuaded by any promises to enter into this employment; and it was only by the strongest applications of terror that seven men were at length prevailed upon to work for six or seven hours. Their labours were not quite useless: they found the head of the sitting statue of black granite, and the foundations of a thick wall. The face of the statue is much disfigured; the hair, which falls to the shoulders widening as it descends, is of the finest sculpture; the legs are more muscular than is usual in Egyptian sculpture, and the shin-bone, toes, and waist, are remarkably well executed, as are the hieroglyphics which ornament the seat.

The arms were broken (as were, probably, those of the more perfect colossus) by the Sheygy'a, at the request of their women, who hoped, by the violence of the act, or the possession of the fragments, to ensure to themselves an exemption from the sterility so common on the banks of the Nile. Similar acts, by which, even if effectual, the increase of the human race would be too dearly purchased, have been, and are still, frequently

performed by the Arabs of Egypt, and lamented by the travellers who describe them.

We paid the workmen liberally in the only money we had, Egyptian piastres, and retired to our hut, determined to renew our investigation to-morrow.

Very violent rains fall here in April; the showers last from one to two hours, and are attended with thunder and lightning. They make the roofs of their straw houses water-proof by binding them strongly with chord from the palm, which they take off when the rainy season is over; they tell us, that in the Desert it frequently rains for five or six following days. Slaves appear to be dearer here than in Mahass, where a man is worth from twenty-five to thirty dollars: the residence of the Mamelouks may have produced that effect.

Jan. 7. Our guards become rebellious, and pleading an order from Tombol to return to Benni, refuse us any assistance; but as Mr. Hanbury had luckily all his arms with him, and myself a brace of good pistols, their scruples were rather hastily removed, and they submitted with a murmur, that Abdin Casheff himself had never adopted such measures when he was in Dóngola. It was unpleasant, no doubt, to be obliged to adopt them, and we never did so, except to accomplish some end, which appeared at the moment of great importance to us; and we can with confidence assert, that no person was ever pressed into our service, who did not confess himself ultimately a gainer by it.

Owing to these difficulties operations were not re-commenced

till nearly eleven o'clock, and continued not more than three hours, but long enough to decide, that there has been a large temple on this spot, facing the east nearly; the sitting statue was on one side of the entrance into the second chamber, and there was, no doubt, another opposite to it, which by a very trifling excavation, under more favourable circumstances, might still be discovered. The island is both ill peopled and ill governed; but the want of any currency acknowledged by the natives, is the principal reason which will prevent any traveller, unsupported by a military force, from bringing to light, for the present, the numerous sculptured remains that are, no doubt, hid under the rubbish. We were obliged to content ourselves with such an excavation as would enable us to ascertain the probable nature of the building which formerly adorned the spot.

The two colossi have stood at the entrance of the first chamber of the temple, and, from the direction in which they now lie, probably facing each other. The site of this temple, of which the limits are very distinctly marked by the elevation of the ground, is two hundred and fifty-five feet by one hundred and seventy-one. The ground is covered with pieces of sandstone, incredibly broken and crumbled. We, however, observed some small fragments with hieroglyphics on them (the ibis was very distinct upon one), and others sculptured in different ways. Some pieces of granite, and a bit of glass*, rather like the

* Strabo (lib. 17, p. 822.), and Herodotus, (lib. 3, c. 24.), mention the Ethiopian custom of preserving the bodies of the dead, and exposing them, dried and painted, in glass coffins. μέσῃ δὲ τῇ στήλῃ ἐνέων διαφαίνεται ὁ νέκυς. The

stopper of a bottle, some very strong cement, and a few burnt bricks of extraordinary size (possibly the parts of some subsequent buildings), were dug up by us.

About fifty yards S.W. of this temple there appears to have been a smaller one, and to the S.E. is a very large extent of ruin, covered with burnt brick and pottery. I picked up a small bit of the latter, painted. The whole field presents the most utter ruin conceivable, making the perfection of the granite remains only the more wonderful. In the broken colossus there is a hole cut for the reception of iron to join the parts, but not deeply cut, and having the appearance of an attempt made in a subsequent and degenerate age, and abandoned from its difficulty.

We had been assured that there were some columns in another part of the island, but after making every possible inquiry, and questioning, in particular, an old man, who had lived forty-five years there, and boasted to know every spot in the place, we were obliged to believe that our information had not been correct.

We had passed a part, both yesterday and to-day, in wandering about the island with our guns; we found and killed a vast variety of game, and the possession of wild geese, wild ducks, teal, snipes, and partridges, rewarded our labours. We saw also hares and quails, and the traces of gazelles, and great quantities of a black and white bird, of the same size and the

latter also speaks of the abundance and quality of the glass found in the country, πολλὴ καὶ εὐεργὸς ὀρύσσεται.

same flight with a plover, common in Egypt, besides the red and green birds before described. The mud ruins, tombs, and burial-grounds on Argo, are comparatively few, though we observed three or four small plains, covered over with broken bricks and pottery, as if the era of populousness here had been anterior to that of which so many miserable productions have been constantly remarked by us in Dóngola. The inhabitants were busy in preparing butter, of which a large quantity was to be immediately sent up to the army on camels.

Being obliged to believe the impossibility of continuing our excavation with any chance of important success, in the present state of the country, we determined to return to Benni, and re-crossed the river in a small wretched boat, built for the reception of predestinarians.

From Benni I passed over instantly to our tent, and found that Giovanni, soon after our departure, had suffered a severe relapse, and that instead of sending us over notice of it, he had had recourse to the women of the country for medicine; they had produced a red powder, which they sprinkled on his eyes, nose, and lips, and they also pressed him to swallow some of it; declining, however, this experiment, he contented himself with tasting a little, and thought it was powder of bones, probably human: he got better soon afterwards, and on my return was attributing his convalescence to the prescription of his dusky physicians*; his opinion of their intellect was, in consequence,

* A small root, of a strong though not unpleasant taste, is eaten by the Arabs, Nubians, and even Turks, as a good stomachic and preventative against all kinds of complaints.

beginning to change a little, and he suggested to me, that "perhaps these people are not such *bestie* as we take them for."

There is a young Shiek, or Saint, who lived in a cottage near our tent, and visited us frequently—an intelligent looking boy, and well versed in the Koran; he fetches water for our servants, and is nephew of the King of Dóngola. The title is *Shiek of Islam*, or Supporter of the Faith; the office, and the holiness attending it, is hereditary. The Shieks of Islam are exempted from all bodily labour, and have a portion of land cultivated by others; they generally increase their income by writing charms. The tombs, which we have had so many occasions to notice, contain their bodies; not, however, that such habitations are necessarily built for all who die, but only for those whose conduct is considered by their surviving brethren to have deserved such an honour. All property left in the precincts of these tombs is protected by their sanctity; and so effectually, that I have frequently observed heaps of corn lying there, in the open air and by the road-side, as being thus placed in greater security than could have been afforded by the house of their possessor.

This boy is distinguished in appearance by a different arrangement of his hair, which is curled up close round the head, instead of hanging down in the manner usual with his unconsecrated countrymen*.

* The girls' hair falls lower than the boys', sometimes down to the shoulders, and has generally a little ornament in it, and is always arranged with more care; the covering of leathern thongs round the waist is peculiar to the girls.

Jan. 8. Mr. Hanbury (who was now known among the Nubians only by the name of the Aga), having passed a dull evening and a bad night in the palace at Benni, and made an exchange of presents with Malek Tombol, in which his Majesty had greatly the advantage, returned to the tent in good time. Giovanni, in spite of his incipient faith in Nubian talent, had a violent attack of fever during the night, and, after a serious consultation, we administered some drugs, whose immediate effect was far from being favourable; however, we repeated our dose in the evening.

We had hardly disposed of his case, when an Arab, a native of the island of Artigásher, presents himself, anxious to be instantly cured of a diarrhœa of three years' standing; to prove the existence of the complaint, he exposes to us his skin, seared with hot irons. We prescribed some innoxious pills, in return for which he insisted, as a man of substance, on presenting us with fresh butter, and promises of hospitality, which we never gave him an opportunity of fulfilling.

I made a shooting excursion to a mountain about three miles West of us, nearly on the edge of the Desert; a valley at the foot of it was full of herds of gazelles, which I was not able to approach. The soil continues rich, and cultivable for at least two miles from the river, but has no appearance of ever having been cultivated half so far.

We had sent over to Tombol to express our wish to keep the camels till the recovery of Giovanni; and received for answer,

that the Pasha had put them at our entire disposal, to stop when and as long as we liked, and to proceed when we would; thus observing so well one of his promises to us, that we almost began to pardon him for his breach of another. When informed that we were detained by the illness of a servant—"We are all sons of Adam," was the remark of the philosophical Malek.

The Genoese, who was of our party, and was now becoming very useful, is a Catholic, and exerts the professions of cacciatore and cook; he was dressing the dinner under a palm-tree, and finding a great deficiency in necessaries, raised his eyes in despair towards heaven; in so doing, he observed on the branches a cluster of sixteen green birds; he took up a gun and killed them *all*; he then immediately began to exercise his other trade in cooking them, and with such success, that I never recollect to have eaten so delicious a bird, not excepting the beccafichi of Italy and Alexandria.

Jan. 9. As Giovanni was rather better this morning, we gave him some bark, which led us to the sad discovery that we had not left ourselves above twenty doses of that necessary medicine. The natives consoled us by the assurance, that, if we remained on this spot only three or four days longer, we should all have intermittent fevers, from which themselves were suffering extremely; luckily, the groves and fields about were full of partridges, which furnished us with an object for exertion and exercise, to which we were probably indebted for the subsequent continuance of our health.

Just as I was preparing to breakfast after one of these excursions, I was interrupted by the entrance of Malek Tombol, and his unceremonious suite. I inquired of him, whether there were any healthier place in the neighbourhood whither we could remove our invalid; he answered with a smile, "that all places are alike, as all depends on the will of God." Feeling this proposition, as the monarch had foreseen, perfectly incontrovertible, I endeavoured to console myself by obtaining some topographical information from him; though not without fears of being assured, that, for the same reason all places had the same name, and were in the same situation. I was in this attempt more successful, and the result of this and many other conversations on the same subject is contained in the map prefixed to this book. Suffice it here to say, that Tombol's examination did not close till Mr. Hanbury's return; and I believe that the Malek never greeted the Aga more sincerely than at that moment. He drank some tea with us, which he had previously saturated with bad sugar, but refused to partake of a dish of partridges, as the Nubians eat no birds except fowls. He was presented with some articles of cutlery in return for his information, and retired upon the whole well satisfied with his visit.

One young saint speaks Arabic* excellently, and Hadji

* Most Nubians, and even many Egyptian Turks, speak Arabic, which is made less difficult to them from being the language of their prayers, as Latin is of the Catholic, and Romaic of the Greek Liturgy. I recollect to have seen a Greek missal, in the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, written in much purer Greek than the New Testament; it consisted probably of quotations from the Fathers.

Yacobe, by our desire, requested him to write some verses of the Koran for him as a charm; he told Yacobe that he must first swear, "by God, the creator of the world," that they were for himself (a supposed Mussulman), and not for the Christians. Yacobe offered to swear by the Prophet, but this the saint held insufficient, saying, "that the Prophet, though the ambassador of God, was still a man like ourselves, and the oath by him would not be binding. There are three laws (he continued), that of Moses, of Jesus, and Mahommed; Jesus was the Spirit of God, and the mistake of the Christians is, in supposing that he was crucified; the Jew was crucified, but the Spirit did not suffer."

Our young instructor received the rudiments of his education in Dar Sheygy'a, and was afterwards at school in Old Dóngola. They are taught in these schools to read and write, and in arithmetic, addition, subtraction, and multiplication. The saint multiplied several figures into each other in the presence of James. When their education is finished, the parents pay the master in cotton cloth and dhourra, and when rich, also in cattle. The masters are shieks of Islam; these are not the magicians, nor are they ever shieks of tribes; the employment is considered very honourable, and generally held by relatives of the royal family. The boys are punished for rebellious conduct, for stabbing each other with knives, *&c. &c.*; but the offence, for which there is the least hope of pardon, is that of allowing the Koran to fall on the ground. Large sticks

are, as usual, the instruments of chastisement; but the third offence is in every case expulsion. They are taught to read on the same kind of flat boards that are used for the same purpose in Egypt.

The eloquence of the little saint had stopped, for the moment, the negotiation for the charm; it was afterwards renewed, and he was, at last, prevailed upon to promise "charms so strong, that they shall protect him who wears them against all the evil spirits that are moving on the earth, and if the heavens should fall upon him they shall not hurt him;" and he kept his promise.

Jan. 10. Giovanni remained extremely weak from the effects of his fever, and the medicines necessary to remove it. We gave him bark, but without hope of being able to continue our journey for some days. This morning a king's messenger arrived from Mahâss, bearing a letter, saluting us in the name of God and the Prophet, and purporting, "that Malek Ibrahim of Mahâss has the pleasure and honour to inform us, that fresh camels and horses are waiting for us, and that Malek Zebeyr (the other king of Mahâss) is ready to do all that the Pasha requires of him." This was accompanied by a verbal message from Ibrahim, contradicting, in some degree, the latter part of his letter, which proved the important fact of a jealousy subsisting between these two powerful sovereigns.

The silence of the last two or three evenings had been disturbed only by one sound, the voice of a hippopotamus,

extremely near to us; it is a harsh and heavy sound, and like the creaking or groaning of a large wooden door; it is made when he raises his huge head out of the water, and when he retires into it again; he sleeps on shore, eats greens, but not flesh, and passes his days under water. He is here caught by pits and snares, and furnishes food for the table of Malek Tombol.

Jan. 11. A part of last night was passed in waging a defensive warfare against a number of wild dogs, which had lately made great depredations on the very small stock of provisions that remained to us. Our success was so complete, that we were never afterwards troubled by their predatory visits.

The interpreter of Malek Ibrahim arrived this morning, and a long conversation with him furnished much geographical information about the country and islands of Mahass. His business was to inform us that the camels prepared by his master belonged to Gellabs, who were impatient to depart. Now, as Giovanni was yet perfectly unfit to travel, it was agreed that Mr. Hanbury should advance and detain the camels till such time as I should be able to remove my now convalescent servant.

We were invited to dine with Malek Tombol; but finding ourselves at the moment engaged in preparations for departure, and having no great taste for the usual cookery of the country, we sent James over to make our excuses: this was unfortunate, as the feast prepared for us was rather singular. Hadji Yacobe was met at the door by the king in person, and by him con-

ducted into the chamber of the women, who were not, however, visible, where he found the court drinking wine and booza. He had observed a dead calf hanging at the palace-gate; it had been newly killed, and the tripe, kidneys, and heart, after being well washed, were served up raw, in small pieces sprinkled with a little salt, and brought on table in a wooden bowl. This was eaten, as the king assured him, to prevent the bad effects of the wine*. After this was finished, booza was served four times round; and at the last round it was extremely lamented that the Agas were not come, "for see," said the Prince, "what preparations have been made to entertain them!" The booza was succeeded by the usual mess of cooked meat and bread, accompanied by the henneeses, which is a vegetable soup made with the tops of a sort of radishes; this the king kept by his side, and from time to time poured into the other dish as much of it as he could take up in the palm of his hand, proving thereby the absolute inutility of spoons. The coffee, which had been ground for the Agas, was put up in a cloth and saved; and the festival concluded with fresh calabashes of wine and booza.

Jan. 12. These petty Princes, who, under the titles of Shiek, Casheff, Mek or Malek, have so long possessed and divided the banks of the Nile from Assouan to Sennaar, seem

* Other Nubians, with whom we have discussed this matter, have always given us the same reason. It does not appear that they prefer the meat raw, but only take it when, in meditation of intemperance, they wish to prepare their stomach for the reception of exceeding quantities of wine and booza.

not to have been entirely despotic; and profess to consider themselves as placed in that situation by the will of God, to administer the justice of the Koran: the only law, as it is the only learning, of Mahommetans. For murder, the king may punish with instant death; for theft, he has only power to beat the culprit, though it would seem that his life is forfeited by a repetition of the offence. There is no gradation of punishment: mutilation, branding, or banishment* are not heard of; nor is there any thing intermediate between the nabboot and death. The laws for securing the property of the subject seem to have been much less definite; nor could we ever get any clear account of them: for the protection of travellers, certainly none existed. When we have observed the curiosity with which Malek Tombol and his soldiers regarded, and even handled, some of our property, and the avidity they displayed to possess all, even to our very clothes, we have often congratulated ourselves on the protection afforded us by the name of Mahommed Ali, and the vicinity of his armies: without which, I do not believe that any attempt to explore these countries could have been successful.

In wandering about the burial places near our tent, I found one or two pieces of fine grey granite, hollowed, and well polished; serving as head-stones to the graves. It was impos-

* The same was the case amongst the ancient Ethiopians. See Diodor. Sic lib. iii. sect. 5.—Φεύγειν δ' ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας χώρας εἰς τὴν ὅμορον καὶ τῇ μεταστάσει τῆς πατρίδος λύειν τὴν τιμωρίαν, κάθαπερ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, οὐδαμῶς συγκεχώρηται.

sible to determine of what they were fragments, or for what purpose they were originally intended; though they were remains, probably, of the oldest times. I observed also a small earthen pot, of beautiful shape, and the finest clay.

Mr. Hanbury sent over to the palace a quantity of Constantinople, Egyptian, and Venetian gold, in payment for a horse' for which he was in treaty with the king's brother; he was surprised to find all the Turkish money returned on his hands, with the assurance that it was false and debased; nothing was accepted but the sequins of Venice, and not even those till they had been tried in the fire. In matters concerning their own interest, we always found Tombol and his court sufficiently penetrating and intelligent.

The owner of the horse expressed himself willing to take a brace of pistols in part of payment: the taste for arms, introduced or cherished by the Mamelouks, is still very strong among the natives of this country, while in Sukkot and Mahâss, provinces more immediately under the subjection of Egypt, a gun or sabre is little regarded or valued. "What need have we of arms? Are we not under the protection of the Pasha?" They are freed from the fear of the nocturnal incursions of the Bisharein and Sheygy'a, and on those terms are contented to be slaves.

Crocodiles are said to be large and voracious in this part of the river*. "We eat the crocodiles, and the crocodiles eat us," was

* There is, I believe, no other animal, except the shark, of which this is true.

the remark of Malek Tombol, made, no doubt, in the comfortable security, that, in these mutual hostilities of tooth and palate, his own royal person was never likely to be passive.

In the evening we received a visit from Malek Ibrahim in person, pressing our immediate advance; and, when we pleaded the weakness of Giovanni as yet unfitting him for any exertion, we were only assured, with great simplicity, "that violent perspiration is the most strengthening thing in the world." He took an Arab supper with us, and went off to sleep in a mud hut near us. He brought us a note from the French traveller, M. Cailliaud, who was advanced as far as the frontiers of Dóngola, on his way to join the army.

Jan. 13. After an affectionate parting with Malek Tombol, Mr. Hanbury set off with the King of Mahass about mid-day, leaving Giovanni so much stronger, that I had hopes of being able to follow him to-morrow. I received afterwards still another visit from the King of the Isles, in which he gave me letters to be presented for him to Mahommed Ali, and his son, Ibrahim Pasha; and when we had exchanged names, in token of eternal friendship, he concluded by begging *two charges* of English gunpowder; and having received, as a great favour, *exactly* what he asked, he went off across the water to his palace, and I never saw him after.

Jan. 14. Malek Zebeyr, who had been detained till now on the Pasha's affairs in Dóngola, arrived yesterday evening, and passed the night in a ruined mud house in the neighbour-

hood of the tent. About midnight he appears to have been unfortunately seized with a desire to smoke, and having heard of the excellence of our tobacco, sends various messengers, and ultimately comes in person, to procure some: he disturbs Sir Paolo and the servants, poor Giovanni included, with no success, as the Aga had taken all the tobacco away with him.

The morning, unlike the five or six last, was clear and cloudless; and the sick man being much better, we loaded the camels, and by about half-past ten were once more in motion. A village named Benni lies just below our place of encampment, and there are several mud ruins and some brick remains by the road-side.

In three miles we passed the village of Korbi, and in about half a mile more stands an old mud town of the same name, on the left of the road; our direction was North. In five miles I observed a number of large stones, sandstone and granite, lying by the road-side, but could discover no sculpture on any of them. Koye, a decent village, appeared soon after, and there were some saints' tombs on our left.

In six miles I counted nine detached hills not very distant on the left; the waving mirage, like a sea moving before the North wind, was around and among them, and concealed their bases and the undulations of the ground between them.

From seven miles to seven and a half are more mud ruins; our road was now at some distance from the Nile, which, however, was visible. Koye is situated almost on the bank. In eight miles and a half we entered the district Moshi, and I observed palms

flourishing far off on the left, though we still continued distant from the river; there are wells here of burnt brick, and probably of great antiquity, and the cultivation is as broad as I ever saw it.

On this spot I met Messrs. Cailliaud and Letorzec with their interpreter and servant. They were both in the Turkish dress, most cautiously defended from sand and sun by long muslin shades projecting before their eyes. We merely exchanged a few words of civility in passing, and proceeded on our respective destinations with as much indifference as if we had met in the park or on the boulevards.

We soon afterwards passed the foundation of a stone wall by the road-side, remarkable for the size of the stones, though it appeared of no great antiquity. In ten miles and a half we arrived at Hadji Omar, in the district Haffeer, a mud village situated about half a mile from the Nile, where we found Mr. Hanbury and Malek Ibrahim expecting us. Our direction for the last four or five miles was nearly N.W.; the place is opposite to a large tower* on the bank, at the end of the island of Artigásher.

Malek Ibrahim having no taste for the parade of horsemen, muskets, and lances, with which Tombol delighted to be surrounded, travels more royally with a minstrel by his side. This honourable place is occupied by a boy of seventeen or eighteen, with an animated countenance, and a rolling eye; he entertained the party assembled here yesterday evening by the performance of a long

* The one that we did not examine in going up.

Nubian love song, which was translated by Ibrahim's interpreter, verse by verse, into Arabic, and thence into more civilized languages. It seems to differ little from the Arabic songs so common on the same subject. After finishing this effusion, he turned to Mr. Hanbury, who was present, and somewhat suddenly began to sing, "May God bless and prosper the Aga, who has trampled upon our inveterate enemies; and happy is the day in which the Turks came into our country—" here some of the audience suggested to him the propriety of introducing the praises of the Pasha; but the poet said that he knew nothing about the Pasha*, and this led to a difference which seems unfortunately to have put an end to the whole performance.

It was succeeded by another of a very different description. A number of females presented themselves, and exhibited before the King some very indecent movements and attitudes, which they called the Dance of the Virgins; it was led off in this instance by the wife of a Mamelouk, who seems to have been somewhat out of place. I frequently saw it repeated afterwards; a corresponding motion of the chin and loins, attended by regular clapping of the hands, and certain wild and savage sounds, while

* Some of his ancestors gave the same answer to Suetonius about Augustus Cæsar. Strabo, xvii. p. 821.—Πρεσβευσαμένων δ' ἐκέλευσεν ὡς Καίσαρα πρεσβευέσθαι· οὐκ εἰδέναι δὲ φασκόντων ὅστις εἴη Καῖσαρ, &c. Probably the young savage, who was not so ignorant as he pretended of political matters, had entered warmly into the dispute between the Pasha and Abdin Casheff, who appears, by some subsequent productions, to have been his hero; and, being yet young, valued the gift of immortal song too highly to prostitute it even to the flattery of a Pasha.

the performers slowly and alternately advance and retreat, composes the graceless and disgusting exercise, in which it was painful to see any woman engaged, even the women of Nubia. On this occasion they enlivened their exertions by a chorus, formed seemingly for the movements to which it was to be attuned, and the lips that were to utter it.—" We rejoice in the return of our King, newly crowned by the Pasha, and we will sing and dance, and sing and dance, till the sweat exhales from us, and forms a cloud over our heads."

Jan. 15. Mr. Hanbury's medical skill was solicited by a man who was suffering from sore eyes, and who, having (as is the custom), during a long mourning for his wife, neglected to butter his hair, attributed his complaint to that cause.

Reiss Bedoui, the captain of our cangee, sent up a message to James from Wady Halfa, by the servants of M. Cailliaud, begging him to salute us respectfully, and inform us, " that he was employed in praying God to inspire our hearts to return homewards, as he had not tasted meat since our departure."

Our hearts were already so inspired; but just as we were mounting, in comes a messenger at full speed from Malek Tombol: much speculation was excited by this dispatch, whose object will not, I trust, be deemed trifling, or derogatory from the dignity of the personage who sent it. Mr. Hanbury had presented the king, in parting, with two strings of large gilt Venetian beads, for which he had vowed immortal gratitude. The horseman whose arrival had just created so much sensation was

charged to pray the Aga to send two other similar strings, and the reason given for this request was extremely natural: the Malek having four wives, and only two necklaces, had very properly presented them to the two fairest of his little seraglio; on which the other two, unable to endure the wounds thus every way inflicted on their vanity, had broken into open rebellion, and threatened to leave their ungrateful lord.

Unmoved by so touching a tale of female weakness, Mr. Hanbury sends for answer, that the Malek had already received so much from him, that, instead of begging for more, he ought to have sent him a present: and this was the last communication that we ever had with Malek Tombol.

Some Gellabs set out this morning from here for Darfour; they enter directly into the Desert, and find water all the way; they perform the journey in twenty-five days.

In two or three miles we passed Djebel Gart on our left, distant about four miles. It is full of palms, like an Oasis; and though there are no fixed habitations there, the Cubbabísh Arabs go there annually and collect the dates.

An old Shiek came out from his hut, and gave the king a religious welcome by saying the Prayer of Faith with him. In five miles we passed an old mud castle at some distance from the Nile, Mount Arambo bearing N.E.

King Ibrahim is said to be the best rider, and the best judge of horses, in his kingdom. He amused us by some feats of equestrianism, and, among others, put his horse into the antelope

gallop, which is a succession of springs, and before mentioned as being the favourite pace with the Sheygy'a; he assured us that it may be taught to any horse that is broken young. He never goes at full speed for above two or three hundred yards together, and then draws up very sharp and suddenly*.

Notwithstanding the rejoicings that we had in various places witnessed for his return, Malek Ibrahim had not yet entered his own kingdom. In six miles we came to the village of Akki, which we were requested to enter with loud shouts and discharges of guns and pistols, as being the frontier town. We were still in Dóngola; but the district from here to Mahass had belonged to the ancestors of Ibrahim; he had lost it in the time of the Mamelouks, by the intrigues of Malek Zebeyr, and had been just re-instated by the Pasha. This village is by the river-side, and opposite to the island and town of Bedeen. A little below begins the small island of Garti, or Gart, on this side of Bedeen, and that of Sogdán is rather higher up on the other. Here we met a man on a dromedary, sent in pursuit of us by the Aga of Koke, who had been advised by the Pasha of our journey, and directed to provide for our conveyance and look after our safety.

* He had an idea that, in our country, of which he had of course no distinct idea, except that it was far off and to the North, and therefore near Stamboul, we always ride in carriages. It would have been curious to have seen him transported at that moment into Leicestershire. He professes to be a little better acquainted with our history; for he has heard, he says, "how the English drove the French out of Cairo, like dogs."

In eight miles we passed through many granite masses and rocks on our left; and one large rock on our right, on the little island of Moogueil, separated from the main land by a narrow canal, which is dry in spring, and was nearly so then.

In less than one mile more, the granite still continuing, we arrived at Hannech. This is a considerable town, containing from one hundred and fifty to two hundred straw houses, protected by two large mud castles, and built partly on the main land and partly on the end of Moogueil, where ends also the kingdom of Dóngola.

The strong castle of Tumbos is about two miles distant from those of Hannech, bearing nearly S.E. from them. Mount Arambo is due East, and apparently six or seven miles off. Some small sandy rocks lie between the land and Tumbos, extending, in some places, at small intervals, quite across this branch of the river; two are of importance enough to have been named, the upper Feghíra, and the lower Sali; the passage is between them and Tumbos "when the water is crying." There are two falls, and a native assured me that for large boats the Shelál was then impracticable, though small cangees might possibly still pass. Bedeen ends just on the other side of the beginning of Tumbos, and below the fall comes the island of Zimmit, as large as Bedeen.

We were detained here some time, that Malek Ibrahim might make known to his subjects the Pasha's orders respecting the division of the lands, and the treatment of the soldiers passing

through the country; these last were particularly severe, and seemed to give permission to no native to refuse any thing even to a common soldier: "Make no attempts to conceal your property, as the Pasha knows all that you possess."

Soon after we left Hannech we entered a pass, and in three miles and a half came down to the Nile, opposite to about the middle of Zimmit, which is said to be very broad. The village of Ashowb is on this bank, just above. We observed some well-broken outlines of granite rocks clearly defined against the evening sky. We rode by the Nile side for half a mile, and then left it, though at no great distance, in direction W.N.W. In five miles we entered a kind of pass between two considerable rocks of granite. Mount Fogo was for the first three miles and a half in front of us, and is now a little to the right. In about seven miles we came to the Nile again, opposite to the island Moushli, (direction N.N.W., and presently N.), and rode generally by the river-side, with rocks close on our left. In a mile more we passed a green valley going down to the Nile, full of gazelles; and soon afterwards the rocks diminish and the plain opens. Our direction was now to the E. of North, again nearly towards Fogo. In ten miles or ten and a half from Hannech we came to a village by the river-side named Kabhadji, where we remained for the night.

This is one of the prettiest spots on the banks of the Nile. We were shut in behind and on either side by a number of low

rocks, out of which Mount Fogo, rising in eminence, presented his red and stony forehead to the moonlight. The broad and moving surface of the river is broken by innumerable islets, whose perpetual struggles with the restless water produce a continuation of melancholy sound more attractive than mere tranquillity.

Jan. 16. Malek Zebeyr joined us at Hannech, and now travelled with us; the rival kings preserved a dignified reserve in their behaviour to each other, and only united in attention and respect to us. We set out early, and in two miles and a half arrived at Mount Fogo; a small island, named Bouggi, is formed by the Nile at its foot. I determined to ascend the mountain, hoping to obtain from that eminence (the only considerable one that we had found situated close by the water since we left Djebel el Berkel) a view of the river, and the shape and exact situation of the islands, for some distance both up and down the stream, and I was not disappointed. I was enabled to trace the course of the Nile from Hannech to Naoury, and made a kind of drawing or plan of that country, which was of use in correcting and amplifying the Map of the Nile. I observed a small cataract in the main stream just below, and two or three green spots of cultivation in the middle of the rocks which form it; the mountain is of red sandstone.

James remained with me, and after riding briskly on for about five miles we overtook Mr. Hanbury and Malek Ibrahim drinking wine and booza at a village called Amli. We were received with

shouts of joy, as there had been fears for our safety, on account of robbers, who are said to haunt the mountain.

The minstrel, whose voice and harp * are ever most willingly exerted, and most agreeably attended to, amid scenes of festivity, seizes this occasion to extemporize on the alarm excited by our absence, and the interest taken by the Aga in the safety of his friend. " The soldiers are riding about the country in search of him; the Aga trembled for his friend, and drew the sword that was never quenched; the King was anxious about his guest, and if the Pasha, and even the great Pasha, had known it, they would have been equally agitated—but he,—of whom was he afraid, or where is the Sheygy'a who would dare to face his gun that has two souls, and his pistols that are all of gold?" The poetry was much admired, but, unhappily for the truth of the matter, the soldiers were drinking their booza, and the Aga had never touched the unquenchable blade.

He afterwards sang the praises of the King his master—" He is young and tall, and his sword is without knowledge; he mounts his horse, which bounds farther than the gazelles of the Desert;

* His instrument was exactly that described and drawn by Burckhardt (p. 146.), and I never saw any other in Nubia, or any wind instrument whatever. A young Dongoláwy, whom we took down with us to Cairo, had one of the same kind, without the same skill in using it. It was made in Argo, like most others, and he gave a smaller, a half-dollar, and a spear for it. He had quarrelled with his father for having maried a second wife, and was setting off alone to seek for a brother, whom he supposed to be at Cairo, when we allowed him to join our party. His whole property was seven dollars, but deeming one sufficient for so trifling a journey, he had left the other six behind him.

they brought him his lance, and he refused it; they brought him his gun, and he accepted it. He went to the Pasha, but not for revenge; for the good of his subjects he went, to secure their property." He concluded by a short strain to the Aga, to whom he declared himself attached from the moment he first beheld his countenance.

These effusions came out in verses, each of four lines, apparently octosyllabic, though I sometimes observed that the fourth line was wanting, and its place in the air filled up by a hum, or merely the music of the instrument; all were sung to the same tune, which had nothing harsh or disagreeable in it, and was just sufficiently pleasant to be an excellent soporific. On this occasion the wine and the booza, and the firing and the shouts, prevented that effect. We tasted here for the first time the liquor called Om Belbel *, or the "Mother of Nightingales;" it seems dif-

* "The Om Belbel is drained through a cloth, and is consequently pure and liquid;... it has a pleasant prickly taste, something like Champagne turned sour." Burckhardt, p. 218. The manner in which palm wine and the common booza are made is described by him, (p. 143.) "As soon as the dates have come to maturity they are thrown into large earthen boilers, with water, and the whole is boiled for two days without intermission; the liquid is then strained, and the clear juice is poured into earthen jars, which, after being well closed, are buried underground; here they are allowed to remain for ten or twelve days, during which the liquor ferments; the jars are then taken up, and the contents are fit to drink; but the wine will not keep longer than a year." Booza "is extracted from dhourra, or barley, but the best is furnished by the latter; it is of a pale muddy colour, and very nutritious." This beverage was in use among the ancient Ethiopians.—(Strabo, lib. xvii.) Ζῶσι δ' ἀπὸ κέγχρου καὶ κριθῆς αφ' ὧν καὶ ποτὸν ποιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς . . . ἐστι δὲ καὶ ἔλαιον, καὶ βούτυρον καὶ στέαρ.

ferent from that drunk at Berber under the same name; it was only the common booza better strained, and mixed with palm-wine; in small quantities we found it extremely agreeable. King Ibrahim had a viceroy and secretary with him, who refused to enter into our conviviality because he was in mourning and a Fakir*. The interpreter drank plentifully night and morning, and assured us that it was usual for the rich in these countries to take a calabash of palm wine every morning on waking, instead of coffee. The King was temperate, and sufficiently civilized to prefer our cookery to his own; for which apostacy from Nubian prejudices he would have incurred the supreme contempt of his Brother of Argo.

We did justice to the hospitality here afforded us, and departed from the village much refreshed. "This is the spot," said Ibrahim in mounting, "where Zebeyr lately killed five of my *children*." We were horror-struck, and calling for a better interpreter (the Genoese being for the moment employed in that capacity), we found that he only meant five of his *subjects*.

For the first three miles we rode northward, and generally near the Nile; the river then makes a short turn eastward, and opposite the point is a large Cuphic church or castle, with arches and stone walls leading up to it from the Nile; it is divided into two parts, the lower of which is among the palms

* These holy men, a kind of Mahometan monks, make a vow to abstain from all worldly pleasures, that of marriage included; and are said to observe their vow much more strictly in Nubia than at Cairo.

by the river-side. In about two miles more we came to two old elliptical stone wells; there is a castle, chiefly of stone, on the opposite shore of Fareatti; a man was passing on a very large ramouss*, which rose three or four feet out of the water before him. There are many fortresses on the shore of the island, which seems well peopled and cultivated; the King in passing received shouts of welcome from the opposite bank.

About a mile farther is a small shelál; there is a tower on the other side, and a little lower an old stone fortress on this; it is of great extent, but of no regular architecture; it is built down to the edge of the river, and a large open square on the inclined plain, nearer the Nile, is enclosed with the rest by one exterior wall of great strength; here is a turn to the southward of East, which continues the direction for some time; there is a small island near. In about eight miles more, over sandy plains always surrounded by rocks, and generally covered with stones, we arrived at Naour, riding latterly close by the river-side, with high rocks on our left; our direction from the castle had been upon the whole S.E., as well as could be judged from the wind and moon, for it was rather late before we arrived at Naour; a very small plain between the village and the Nile is cultivated, and the wheat was then just coming up. The two

* The geographer Strabo, after travelling from Syene to the shore opposite Phi'œ, in an ἀπήνη, describes himself (b. xvii. p. 818.) to have crossed the river on a kind of wicker ramouss, little less simple than the substitutes for boats at present in use on the Nile.

conical rocks before described are exactly opposite on the other side.

A large fire, lighted for the benefit of the shivering Malek, in the middle of the mud room where we were to sleep, did not conduce to the comfort of the evening.

Jan. 17. There is an old castle, about half a mile above the village, resembling that observed and described yesterday. The eminence on which it stands furnished an extensive view of the country and river towards the North. We set off late, and soon leaving behind us the rocks which had so long accompanied us, entered an open plain, which was still in most parts an uncultivated desert. After four miles and a half, (E.N.E.) we came to the village and island of Defoinyá, where the Nile turns considerably to the southward of East. There are many hills on the other side, but the banks are covered with palms. Here we entered a pass in a N.E. direction, at some distance from the river, and, starting a hare, had a regular course, which, owing to the badness of the dogs, was unsuccessful.

In three miles and a half more we came to the king's capital, Hadji Omar, a large village with two fortresses. It is the residence of the queen and her father, who has given his own name to the place. It is near the river, and opposite Soobah, where we slept about two months before, in our way up to the army. The cataract was now become more noisy, but the broken boat remained exactly as we had left it.

The inhabitants of Mahass have a tradition, apparently con-

nected with one already mentioned as belonging to the Nubians between the cataracts, that they are of Arabian descent, and that their ancestors came from the East before the time of the Prophet; however, it is certain that at present the features of the people are Nubian, as well as the language they speak, and that the women are generally entirely ignorant of any other. The Koreysh Arabs come down to pass some months every year in the country with their flocks, but are not the residents*.

The attire of the minstrel proved little in favour of his Prince's generosity; he was, in fact, naked down to the loins; he was generally mounted behind some one else on a camel, with his harp in his hand, and near the person of his master.

We found that the king had killed an ox for us, in return, probably, for the powder we had expended to celebrate his return to his capital. The women were clapping their hands, and cheerfully performing their offensive movements, covered with their brown and dirty cloaks, fresh buttered, and exhaling such an odour, that we began to look for the appearance of the cloud, whose formation, according to the promise of their chorus, was to reward their perseverance. Among the crowd collected to receive the king, we observed one young man† in a blue gown, with a massive gold ring in his right ear.

* This does not quite agree with the information of Burckhardt, (p. 64.) We learned it in conversation, either from Malek Ibrahim himself or his interpreter.

† "The hair of the people of Maháss is very thick, but not woolly. All the young men wear one ear-ring, either of silver or copper, in the right ear only," *&c.* Burckhardt, p. 141.

Malek Ibrahim dined with us in our tent, and soon afterwards we went up to the private room in the palace, to taste the wine of his Majesty; it is a small high room, of which the walls are partly plastered, and the roof more neatly joined than is usual. In one part were some manuscripts of the Koran, and in another a suit of quilted armour. The king and ourselves reposed on one mat, and Yacobe on a smaller one near; there was a fire in the middle, and the cupbearer, a little black half-naked boy, sits with a large calabash of wine before him, by the fire-side; there is a smaller calabash, which he fills out of the large one, and hands about, with a short interval between every round. The second time of the passing of the calabash I only half-emptied mine, on which the boy laughed extremely, and would have returned it, asking me, "What, do you fail so soon?" The wine was followed by the "Mother of Nightingales."

In the mean time we had been anxiously expecting the appearance of the king's interpreter, without whom there were no hopes of conversation*. In due time he staggers in, and rolling into his place by the side of his master, falls into a state of insensibility, from which no subsequent efforts can for a moment awaken him. The history of this excess, so fatal to the vivacity of the evening, was briefly this: his name was Hadji Ali, and

* I never heard of any foreigner, whether Frank, Turk, or Arab, who could speak Nubian. It is a sharp, but harmonious, language, spoken with a very pleasing accent, and has no offensive sound in it. The *r* is strongly pronounced, but it seems free from nasals, gutterals, and sibilations.

he had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca; having fallen in with another Hadji, he had determined to celebrate the meeting with his brother pilgrim, and they had each swallowed twenty-two calabashes of wine in honour of the Prophet.

As soon as the re-animation of Hadji Ali was ascertained to be impracticable, we requested the introduction of the minstrel; and after hearing some repetitions of his former ditties, we desired him to sing the praises of Abdin Casheff. He obeyed instantly, and without the slightest premeditation selected exactly those qualities for which his hero was most particularly distinguished, and celebrated, in harmonious song, his generosity, his hospitality, his generalship, and his courage. "He fought the Sheygy'a with their own arms, and flew through their country like a bird. The city, that he governed before, wept and lamented when he left it; and now that God has sent him us, let us rejoice: let us rejoice that he is brave and generous, that he is powerful and humane, and let us pray that he may soon return to us." (Here followed several stanzas, of little novelty or interest, beginning with—"Let us rejoice.") "He wished to stay here and govern us, but the Pasha had need of his valour and his counsels, (but for which, he would not have succeeded,) and ordered him to advance with him; and he obeyed the orders of the Pasha. May he return speedily to govern us, and then be sent to Stamboul with the keys of kingdoms." All this, and much more, he produced with the greatest fluency, in Arabic, though a Nubian.

He concluded the evening with a song, of which a small fragment is the last specimen I shall give of his minstrelsey. I shall be pardoned for adding it, were it only that it was in honour of the queen. "She is fortunate in having a husband honoured by the Pasha, and returning to his kingdom with noble guests. Her eye is like that of the gazelle, when startled she looks over the Desert, uncertain which path to take." And then followed a good deal about the morning star. Now the eye of the queen was like the eye of her subjects, bright, black, and inexpressive; and she differed from them in no visible respect, not even in the colour of her cloak, or the arrangement of her perfumed tresses. Not, however, that even she was insensible to the effect of dress; for, some of our party happening to arrive this morning at the palace before the grand procession, she came out to meet them, and anxiously inquired, "Whether her royal husband was in good health, and handsomely clothed by the Pasha?"

We retired to our tent early, and they continued their festivities. They had a supper at eleven o'clock, which was followed by another carousal, and the carousal by a meal of raw meat, for salubrious purposes; and after this physical absolution from the effects of their past excesses, they began to indulge afresh. I was waked very late by a mixture of noises, of which the loudest was made by a large ox, loose, and bellowing about the tent; the women were yet to be heard clapping

their hands and ululating* within the fortress; and such of the men as had been able to reel out, were rioting about it. The moon was overhead, and the sky presented an unusual appearance of tranquillity; it was mottled by a number of thin white clouds, entirely flat and motionless. The sound of the cataract was heard through the palms in the intervals of the roar of festivity.

Jan. 18. There is a fine abrupt sandstone rock about two miles from Hadji Omar, of considerable height. I set off at sunrise to ascend it, and with some little difficulty succeeded. The view was as extensive as that I had from the top of Mount Fogo, but the effect extremely different. In the former situation, from the vicinity of the mountain, the Nile and its islands were spread before me like a map; the greater distance to which I was at present removed, left more to imagination. It is a noble sight to contemplate the Father of Rivers at the same time on the right hand and on the left, before and behind, laboriously forcing his way among the rocks, in appearance a mighty serpent winding through the Desert, but in effect the contrary; for where he comes not, is desolation; before him and by his sides are verdure and life; he seems constantly struggling to do good and constantly resisted, and you

* In giving utterance to their repeated *lilli-loos*, they open their mouths wide, and move their tongue rapidly from one side to the other, like some women mentioned by Mungo Park. It is difficult to conceive a more unpleasant sight.

see together his power, his beneficence, and his beauty. The good and evil genii of Africa are in conflict, and it is melancholy to see how limited is the success of the former, and how narrow the line of fertility compared with the barrenness that extends without bounds around it: and yet the very waste has its herds of inhabitants, and it is a wonderful consideration how many animals derive from this river alone their life and the means of preserving it.

The view of the Desert is unlimited; a number of large detached rocks are nobly scattered over it, and one or two of the more distant have as fine contours as I ever saw. The bones of some animal were lying on the very summit of the rock; they were probably the remains of a kid or lamb carried up thither by an eagle. A Persian would have chosen that spot for sacrifice.

Just as we were mounting this morning, a scene took place, singularly characteristic of Nubian manners, and not very creditable to the conjugal affection of our host and hostess. The king was already on horseback, when his consort came out in form from the palace, and saluted him, for the first time since his return. She said the Prayer of Peace to him, and they then wept together to the memory of some friend or relation who had lately died; he then turned round his horse's head, and proceeded on his journey. This apparent indifference surprised us the more, as the minstrel, in the conclusion of his song, had insinuated, that, " Let the morning

star rise ever so late, its dewy rays would still bring an unwelcome interruption to the happiness of the royal pair."

For two miles we kept pretty near the Nile, with a fine North wind meeting us; and in two miles more, nearly in the same direction, but farther from the river, we came to the castled town of Harám, where we were received with the usual display of rejoicings. The castle of Koke, where was the Turkish Aga with some soldiers, is about half a mile further on, and distant a *malaga* and a half, or about five miles from Hadji Omar. There is another fortress at Koke, belonging to Malek Zebeyr; when Ibrahim approached the castle of his rival brother (for they are brothers by a different mother), he seized his spear, and putting his horse to the antelope gallop, rode up to the gate as if defying him; he then alighted, laid aside his arms, and went to make his obeisance to the Aga.

We also paid a visit to that important personage, and were received with the same civility that we had universally experienced at the hands of Turkish officers. He sent us a large bowl of wine, though he recommended the use of spirits in preference.

An old soldier was also very attentive, and thinking it necessary to flatter us too, delicately assured us that it was his opinion, " that the Algerines and the English were the best sailors in the world."

We received a visit and a goat from Malek Zebeyr, who took

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CASTLE OF KOKE.

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incredible pains to convince us, that in his disputes with Ibrahim he had invariably had justice on his side: one thing appears certain, that he was aided in them by the Mamelouks, which will sufficiently account for his being at present in disgrace with the Turks.

The names of the stars are lamentably degraded by the Nubians, who seem to have sadly disregarded the "Poetry of Heaven." They have debased the Pleiades to a harrow, and Orion to a cow; the three little stars below the belt are the teats; the belt itself they call "the lightning stars." There is a little star a good deal to the left of Sirius, which they make the point of a spear, Sirius is the hand that is wielding it, and two stars below, a little to the right, are the warrior's feet. A planet they distinguish by the name of "a traveller star."

Jan. 19. As there were no fresh camels to be found, the Aga decided that we were to proceed with those which had brought us hither. The Gellab, to whom they belonged, venturing to make some expostulation, was instantly chastised by one of the people present, who, though a native, had accepted some office under the Turks. "What!" said the Gellab indignantly, "do you strike your own blood?"—"I am now of the blood of Mahommed Ali," was the answer.

Thus were created some delays, so that when we went to take leave of the Aga, he was already enjoying his mid-day repose. We dared to cause him to be disturbed, and our reception was

in consequence less gracious; a misfortune for which we were consoled by the time saved by that rash act.

In about half a mile we came to another castle, belonging to Malek Ibrahim, and the last in his dominions. The people here were more than usually noisy in their demonstrations of loyalty. We staid a short time there, and the Malek, who appears to have had a second wife* living there, after presenting us to the heir apparent, who was naked and crying, very warmly pressed us to

* The number of wives possessed by the Egyptian Arabs and the Nubians is not so remarkable as the facility with which they divorce and change them; a singular illustration of this presented itself to us some time afterwards between the cataracts. Floating down the river in the neighbourhood of Dakke, we were hailed by a female voice, crying from the shore, "Soldiers of the Sultan, come and see me justified." We were not deaf to such an appeal, and made the sailors row to the bank; however, the woman herself did not appear to plead her own cause, but stood at a little distance closely veiled; a man, who seemed to act as her counsel, informed us of the merits of the case.

Last year a soldier, with some of his companions, was coming into a village near here, and a child, whom he passed, said to him, "Why do you not give us the salutation of Peace? Are you come among us as an enemy, and not as a friend?" The soldier, irritated at being thus corrected by a child, began to beat the people, and at last killed one of them with a musket-shot: this man's widow was the plaintiff.

Now the law of Nubia is, that the property of the deceased, if he leave a male child, goes to the widow; if a female, she is entitled to half of it; and if none at all, to one-fourth—the surviving brother takes the rest. The plaintiff was childless, and claimed the fourth, declaring that she had yet received nothing. As this was not a case of personal chastisement, and therefore beyond our jurisdiction, we sent the parties to the Shiek, who keeps the register of all the marriages in the district, and by his decision the brother agreed to abide; for it appears that the lady had had four husbands, two of which were still living, and the disputed point seemed to be, whether she was lawfully married to the last.

pass the afternoon with him. There seemed little promise of pleasure or novelty; however Mr. Hanbury, to oblige the King, consented to remain; but the servants and camels being already in advance, I set off alone after them. I had, in mounting, a last sight of our friend the minstrel, who was employed more gallantly than enviably. I left him in the midst of a crowd of women, playing to them, and dancing with them.

In about three miles and a half from the castle is the end of an island, apparently a mile long, and at least as broad; the bed of the river on this side was nearly dry. Artemiri to the South, and Aglâss to the North, are the names of two islands here. In about four miles and a half is a large village, with two castles named Gami; and in half a mile more the palms end. Between Koke and Gami there are thirteen castles, all with different names; the houses about each (and the whole bank is lined with them) take their name from the castle. The general direction was N.N.W., though nearly N.W. during the continuance of the island, and again after the cessation of the palms. I observed some flocks of pigeons, of which we had seen none since we left Djebel el Berkel. The N. Westerly bend of the Nile does not last above a quarter of a mile; it then turns N.N.W. as far as Sasef, and then North.

We had already remarked the ruined town of Sasef, situated on a rock, from the opposite bank in our way up the river. I was now riding up to examine it, though with little hopes of finding there any thing curious, when I was delighted to discover,

at a little distance on my left, four fine old pillars in the Egyptian style. They stand in the Desert, at about six hundred yards from the Nile, and precisely in the short interval of barrenness between the palms of Gami and those which begin immediately below at Sasef. They are of a very hard sandstone, and perfect; they have been covered with hieroglyphics and figures, which are much defaced and worn away by time. I copied three or four, which I did not remember to have observed in the temples of Egypt. The standing pillars are round, and on round bases; their diameter is five feet, and that of the bases six and a half. They are eighteen feet in height, of which the capital measures five. Parts of six or seven others, of the same dimensions, appear above the sand, as laid down in the plan. The distance between the first and second rows of columns (beginning from the East) is only four feet, and the interstices in each row are six feet. From the second row to the third is a distance of twenty-two feet, and from the third to the fourth, of six feet; from those pillars to the foundation of the wall *a* is a space of eighteen feet. Four paces to the North of that wall is part of a column of four feet in diameter; the two on the southern side of the ruins are smaller, and five feet apart. The ground is much elevated for an area of about forty yards square, and most so at the western end, where the destruction of the edifice has been the most complete. The ancient city, of which these ruins are the only remaining monuments, I suppose to have been Aboccis*, or

* See Appendix I.

Abouncis. In a ravine, to the N.E. of the Temple, whence the stone (a very hard sandstone) has probably been taken, I observed one other pillar.

I was detained so long by these remains of antiquity, that it was already dusk before I reached the Old Town; it seemed to differ in no respect from those frequently examined by us in Dóngola. I had a dark and windy ride of about two miles and a half from Sasef to Gourgote, where I found most of the party established for the night to leeward of a large fortress. Mr. Hanbury arrived late with James; he had been engaged in a very interesting conversation with a Gelláb, a relation of Malek Ibrahim, who had been frequently at Darfour, and whose information generally confirmed the accounts given of that country by Browne.

Jan. 20. There are two rocky islands beginning just below this place, called Hassanar and Wagóne. In two miles and a half, during which the black rocks are very near the Nile on both sides, we came to another village, named also Gourgote; and also, like the place where we slept, the residence of Gellábs, or slave merchants. They seem to have chosen their dwelling-places among the savage rocks, in a country congenial to their pursuits and dispositions. There are some small rocky islands near here, and a short turn of the river to the eastward round two of them.

I had been long anxious to buy a young horse of the Dóngola breed, and my inquiries were at last successful. At a

village here a colt, only thirteen months old, was brought out for sale; the inhabitants collected to be present at the bargain, which was to be public; and after the usual ceremonies of high demands and low offers, the matter was easily arranged, and Hadji Ali, who was present as a kind of arbiter, solemnly proclaimed the conclusion of all differences in these words—"In the name of God, the horse is sold*."

We entered a pass shortly afterwards, and in a mile and a half came out opposite to the end of a rocky island; there is a large tower on the opposite side; thence the Nile flows due north, and is for some distance without rocks. In one mile more we came to a fortress with a few houses, hemmed in by the rocks on the north, and called (as well as I could understand) Rochgure. A boy ran out from one of the huts, and stopped us in the name of God and Mahommed; he shewed us a severe

* Mr. Hanbury had bought a young horse some days before, and both are now safely arrived in England. The Dóngola breed has been particularly mentioned by Bruce, Poncet, and Burckhardt, and is much the best that exists on the banks of the Nile. They are not so large as English horses, but finely made, muscular, swift, and capable of enduring great fatigue. They have generally a white face, and four white legs; but the best breed is distinguished by having only three. They are not confined entirely to Dóngola, but are found in the same perfection in Dar Sheygy'a on the one side, and a part of Dar Mahass on the other. We found them as low down as Tinareh. They are occasionally broken before they are two years old, because, as the natives assured us, it would be impossible to break them thoroughly afterwards. I never saw one of them either broken-kneed, or lame, or diseased. Burckhardt (p. 66) declares the breed to be originally from Arabia.—Bruce, who exaggerates the size to which they arrive in a country where he never saw them, calls them of Saracen extraction.

wound under the left arm, which he had received the other night from a Gelláb, and begged for our assistance or advice. The Gelláb was not to be found, so we mounted the boy on an ass, and sent him to the Aga of Koke, strongly recommending him to his humanity. He had a fine countenance, and though aware of his danger behaved with remarkable firmness. He was an orphan, of not above fourteen or fifteen years of age, and had no relation or friend on earth.

Thence we entered another short pass, and went out of it between two fine granite rocks into a small cultivated plain with palms, and a village, where the course of the Nile is rather to the westward of north; and then through another pass to another plain and castle. We were astonished to observe how well every scrap of land was cultivated here, while such tracks of rich soil are left barren in Dóngola.

In a mile and a half from Rochgure we entered the pass of Abshoonab, winding among the rocks, through which our general direction was very little to the west of north; and in four miles and a half we came out to a plain and sakie, opposite to a small island, named Atbore. Great masses of quartz are scattered about here, and a very finely peaked hill is visible at some distance on the left. There is a green spot on the other side, where is a castle and village, named Absári. We observed some wild pigeons and partridges.

In about a mile more (N.N.W.) we passed through a long plain, in one place interrupted by rocks, to Cólmerri, a small

castled village. A civilized native strongly recommended us his lodgings for the night; his house was of straw, and one of the walls was on the point of being destroyed in the night by the kick of a horse, whose unshod foot broke quite through it.

The Nile past here flows N.N.W, and a little below turns N.W. Its windings, which are numerous but not important, are, in this country, from no point visible for above a mile or two, owing to the height of the rocks now forming its banks; these are delineated, as accurately as they were observable, in the chart, and it is, therefore, unnecessary to be minute in detailing them here.

Jan. 21. A pass of three miles (general direction N.W. by N.) brought us to the plain and village of Ghimba, by the river-side, which we followed for one mile more, through the plain to Orourki, a large village, shaded with palms. Its Arabic name is Billa Dhourra, "Without Dhourra;" there is a small island opposite. The rocks begin again just below, and on a projecting one, on the very narrowest part of the river, N.W. of Orourki, is the castle of Tinareh. The name belongs only to the castle, and not to the district or villages near. Shiek Mahommed, under whom is the part of Mahass below Tinareh, and who is out of favour with his new master, was sitting, with a few idle fellows about him, waiting for his mid-day meal; he is one of the very few fat Nubians I ever saw. In four miles from here, chiefly over rocks by the river-side, we came, as usual, to a small plain, with its village and palms; and to

another in one mile more; the Nile thus far running due west, and about four or five hundred yards broad: below there is a gentle turn to the southward. In about a mile more we passed by a string of houses and palms, continuing for half a mile, and called Koye, the name of the district and village on the opposite bank; and in a mile and a half more the Nile again takes its natural course to the northward. The turn is rather sharp, and as the river is very broad, and keeps nearly the same direction for four or five miles, it has much the appearance of a deep bay. The mountains on both sides have gradually flattened and retired from the river, and a large palm village stands on the angle on the opposite side, made by the turn of the Nile. We observed some pikes of stones on the higher hills behind. The houses and trees extend for a mile more; and we then entered a pass, and, after four miles, came into a plain, whence we had a fine view of the ridge of mountains, separating the Mahâss from Sukkót*; and in five miles and a half we descended into a plain by the Nile side. Many of the inundation flies were blown in our faces by the strong north wind, at the distance of two or three miles from the river.

In about seven miles we got to the temple, and in less than a

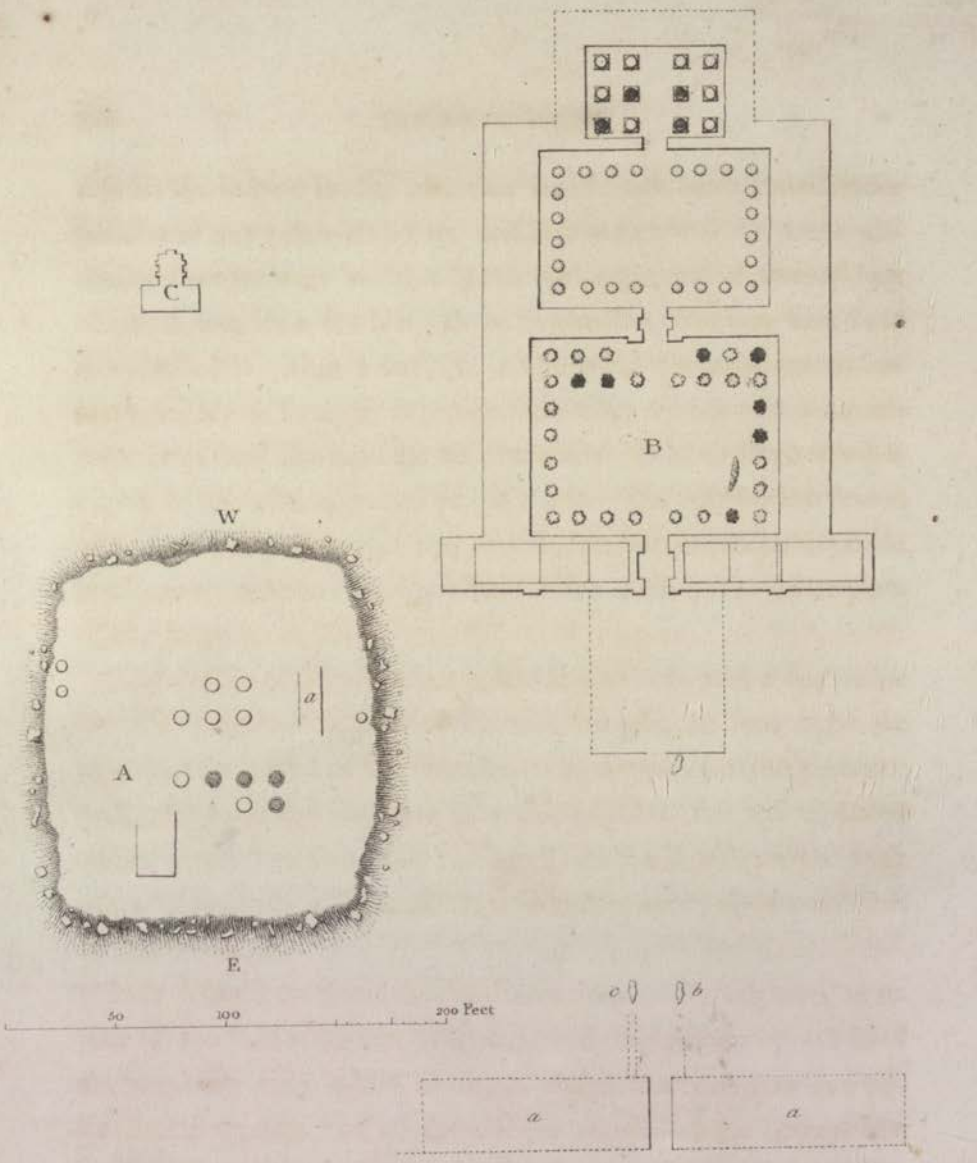
* The district of Sukkót joins immediately to Dar Mahâss, and comprehends the island of Say. I recollect to have been particularly assured of this, or I should not have ventured to advance it against the authority of Burckhardt, who makes Say a distinct territory between Sukkót and Mahâss. P. 32.

mile and a half more to the village of Sóleb*—our general direction being N.N.W., like that of the Nile at this place.

Jan. 22. "If you do not obey," said one native to another, who was somewhat reluctant to execute a commission that we had given him, "If you do not obey, your ears will go to Cairo with those contained in the boxes of the Agas." It appears, that after the battle with the Sheygy'a, three camels' loads of ears, packed in boxes, had passed through Sóleb on their way to Egypt; and the people, who had never seen a box before, concluding such receptacles to be only made for such articles, naturally supposed ours to be similarly charged: we did not endeavour to undeceive them. We passed the day in the examination of the Temple.

The temple of Sóleb faces the Nile, and is about four hundred yards distant from it. In advancing towards it your attention is first attracted by an elevated stone foundation *a*, of thirty feet seven inches in thickness, extending in front of the temple, and of equal length with the portail; it is much ruined, and in some places cannot be traced without difficulty. There is an entrance eight feet six inches in width, exactly opposite to the gate of the temple; two narrow walls, one each side of the entrance, lead nearly up to the remains of two sphinxes, *b* and *c*, of which the former is of grey granite, and has the ram's head; it is six feet in length; the other is so much broken as to be nearly shapeless: they are situated thirty-four feet six inches from the

* It is pronounced *Sulleb*.



Printed by C. Hullmandel.

PLANS of the TEMPLES of SASEF (A), SÔLEB (B), and DOSHÉ (C),
with the Inscription found at Sôleb.

Pub^d by J. Murray, Albemarle St. Mar 15. 1822.

stone foundation, and ninety feet nine inches farther still is the beginning of a staircase leading up to the temple; two other sphinxes have been posted in front of it, of which there remains a part of one only. Thence to the wall of the temple is an ascent for seventy-two feet over heaps of ruins. The front of the portail, which is far from perfect, is about one hundred and seventy-five feet long; the width of the staircase before it fifty-seven feet. The wall, which is twenty-four feet thick, is not solid, but contains on each side of the entrance three cells, into which there is no door, and whose use is not obvious; there is in the wall of the gateway itself a kind of nook, or retired space, measuring eleven feet seven inches in width, such as I have observed in some temples of Nubia and Egypt.

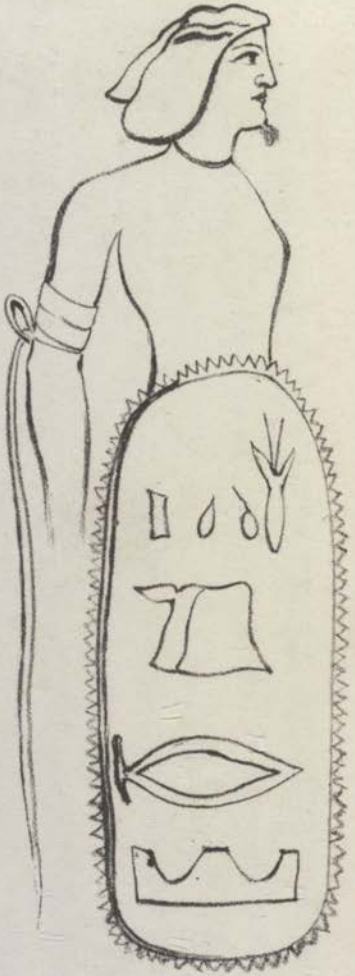
The first chamber is one hundred and two feet six inches in breadth, and in depth only eighty-eight feet eight inches; round three sides of it runs a single row of pillars, and on the fourth and farthest has been a double row, making on the whole thirty columns, of which seven are still standing and perfect; there is nothing original in their shape or execution, and they are all from the same model; the diameter of their base is five feet seven inches, and their height about forty feet; they are inscribed with hieroglyphics only: the space between them and the wall of the temple has been covered by a roof, which is now fallen in.

The front wall of the second chamber, which is rather less in width than the first, and only sixty-eight feet three inches in length, is niched in the entrance, like the propylon, and is twelve

feet in thickness; in the chamber itself there is no considerable portion of any pillar standing, and it was not without some difficulty that we were enabled to trace a single row of twenty-four columns, exactly resembling those in the first chamber, which has surrounded it within a few feet of the wall; their fragments are scattered about in every direction, and the very bases of some are rooted up, and the mud foundation on which they have stood is exposed. So entire, yet so partial, a ruin can only be attributed to the sudden yielding of that foundation; an earthquake would not have spared the columns which still remain in the other parts of the temple.

The middle of the chamber is low and hollow, and a very large stone is lying in one part of it, which might, at first sight, be mistaken for a part of the foundation of a wall. On the posterior wall, and near the entrance into the adytum, lies a sculptured stone, about ten feet long; a hawk, an owl, and an ox, with other hieroglyphical figures, are represented on it, of unusual size, but in low relief.

It is difficult to ascertain the dimensions of the adytum, as no part of the side walls can be traced, and only a few feet (at *b*) of the posterior one; it has, however, clearly contained twelve pillars and not more, and of these three are still entire (except the capital of one), and about half of a fourth; the rest have fallen chiefly towards the Nile before their enemy the Desert, and one of them is now so much inclined in the same direction, that he must shortly be laid with his brethren. They are of a different



SCULPTURES AT SOLEB.

on Stone by A. Aglio.

Printed by N. Chater

Published as the Act directs by John Murray, Albemarle Street, March 6 1822.

CAPITALS.

found at old D'ongola.

On Stone by A. Aglio.

Printed by N. Chater.

FIGURES OF AMMON AT SALEB.

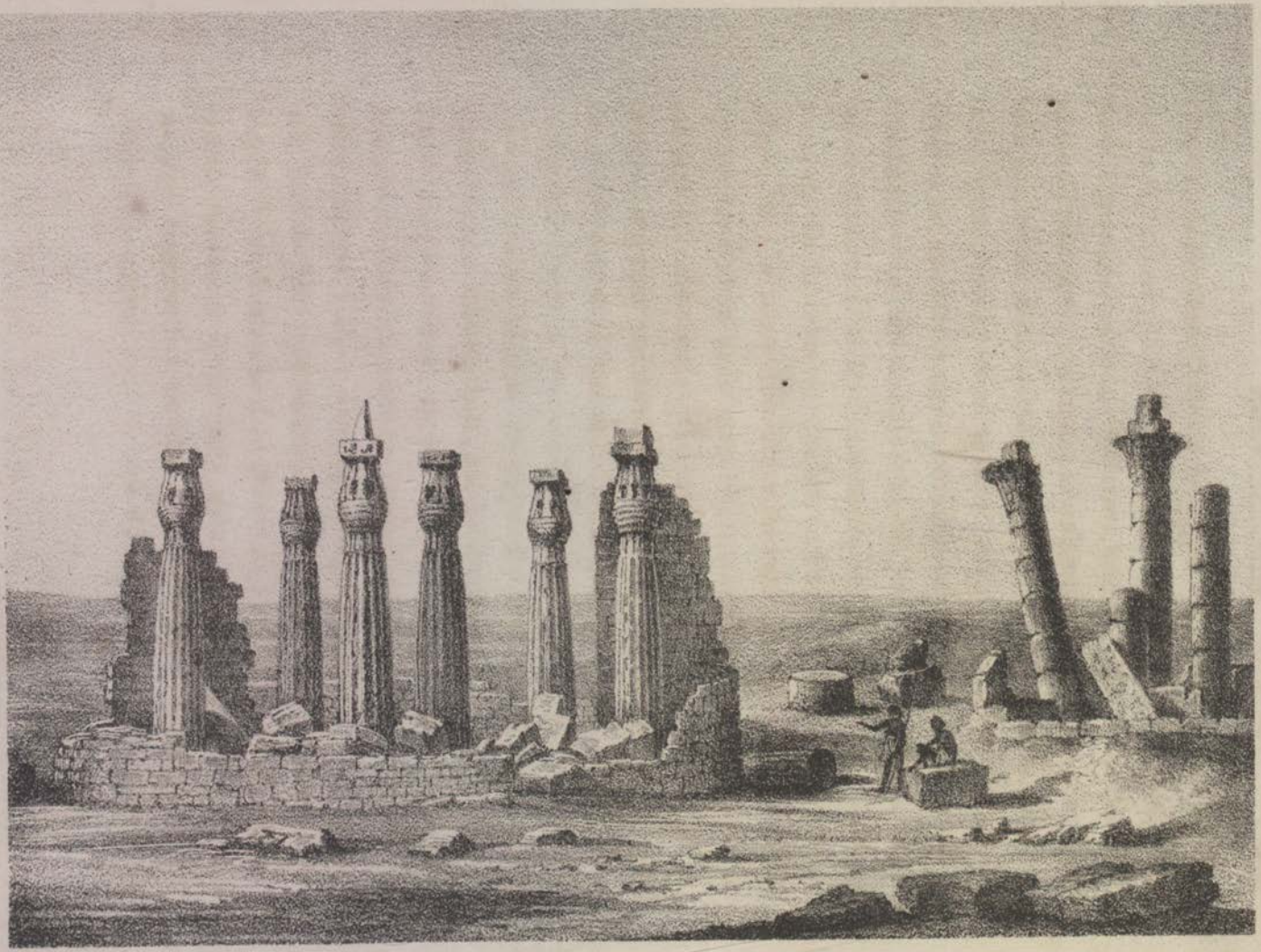
Published as the Act directs, by John Murray, Albemarle Street, March 6. 1822

model from those in the first chamber, but not of a new or uncommon one; they are five feet eleven inches in diameter, and the distance between the two rows on the left is six feet two inches, and between the two middlemost of the four rows nine feet six inches. The length of the chamber appears to be thirty-seven feet. The lower parts of all the columns bear representations of figures about three feet high, of which the lower half is concealed by a tablet inscribed with hieroglyphics. I copied some of them, as I had before copied some similar at Sasef; they are in low relief, but executed in the very best style, as are all the sculptures remaining on the temple, though in some places they have never been finished. Jupiter Ammon appears twice among the few remaining figures, and to him I suppose the building to have been dedicated; part of a Mendes, with the flail and lotus, is distinguishable on a fragment.

On the western side of pillar *d* we observed some marks, evidently artificial, in a character unknown to us, though most resembling Greek. I copied them twice, in two situations of the sun, and, as I believe, with the greatest accuracy. I have shewn them to three or four men of learning, who have not recognised them; however, I feel it my duty to make them public, in the hope that they may at length meet some eye, to which they are not strange. It is the only ancient inscription in any language that we have been fortunate enough to observe during our expedition; though we have neglected the examina-

tion of no spot, where such a discovery might probably have been made.

The temple of Soleb affords the lightest specimen I have seen of Ethiopian or Egyptian architecture. The sandstone of which most of the columns are composed is beautifully streaked with red, which gives them, from a little distance, a rich and glowing tint. The side and posterior walls have almost entirely disappeared; and the roof (for the adytum has been completely covered,) has every where fallen in, so that there remains no ponderous heap of masonry to destroy the effect of eleven beautiful and lofty columns, backed by the mountains of the Desert, or by the clear blue horizon. We were no longer contemplating a gloomy edifice, where heaviness is substituted for dignity, height for sublimity, and size for grandeur; no longer measuring a pyramidal mass of stone-work, climbing up to heaven in defiance of taste and of nature. We seemed to be at Segesta, at Phigalea, or at Sunium; where lightness, and colour, and elegance of proportion, contrasted with the gigantic scenery about them, make the beauty of the buildings more lovely, and their durability more wonderful; there is no attempt in them to imitate or rival the sublimity that surrounds them,—they are content to be the masterpieces of art, and therefore they and nature live on good terms together, and set off each other's beauty. Those works of art that aim at more than this, after exhausting treasuries and costing the life and happiness of millions, must be satisfied at last to be called hillocks.



On Stone by A. Aglio.

Printed by N. Chater

TEMPLE OF SÓLEB

Published as the Act directs, by John Murray, Albemarle Street, March 6, 1822.

Jan. 23. Two horses had been furnished us by Malek Zebeyr at Koke, which were exchanged for two others at Kólmerri, and these last were to convey us down to Wady Halfa. Two men, possibly their owners, were to attend us to our journey's end, and bring the horses back; last night, however, was so extremely clear, that they were tempted to take advantage of it, to commence their return to the South, rather sooner than we had reckoned upon; and when we woke in the morning, they were no longer to be found. Pursuit was hopeless, as, besides our camels, we had only one weak and tired jade. It was, luckily, just possible to proceed with the animals still remaining to us, assisted as they were for some distance by an ass belonging to a merchant, who was going down as a partner from Dóngola to Sukkót, for dates, the whole stock in trade being one dollar.

Having finished our observations on the temple, and exhausted the resources of Soleb, we proceeded in the evening to Doshe, a very mean village, about two miles lower down. We examined the small excavated temple there, and passed the night in the castle, where we were surprised to find regular brick and pot floors. We had here some of our former difficulties in obtaining necessaries, which we were obliged to surmount in the usual manner.

The temple of Doshe is excavated in a rock by the river-side, commanding one of the finest views in the world, and is in itself perhaps the most miserable building that has ever been

consecrated to the gods of the Nile. Its extreme dimensions are twenty-three feet ten inches by twenty-five feet ten inches. The width of the farther part is eight feet seven inches and a half, and at the bottom are the broken remains of three sitting statues, of the rudest sculpture. On each side of the middle part are two holes, the one for a lamp, and the other probably for a small statue. The height of that part is six feet four inches, and of the cross division only six feet. We distinguished the remains of some ill-shaped figures within. There are also some sculptures on the exterior of the rock, and a hieroglyphical tablet near the entrance, which is now quite defaced.

A few yards higher up the mountain, above the temple, is another tablet, four feet wide and about five in height. On the upper part of it, Apis is represented receiving offerings: a figure wearing the corn-measure stands close behind him, and then a third figure, with the crosier in the right hand and the staff in the other. The rest of the stone is occupied by fifteen lines of hieroglyphics.

At a little distance, on the same rock, is the representation of a man with the long thick hair, making an offering. This figure is only nine inches high. A well-shaped vase is sculptured near.

Jan. 24. The little island opposite Doshe is called Ushby. The rock in which the temple is excavated contains much iron ore, and we collected there many curious mineralogi-

cal specimens, which are since happily arrived in England. In about six miles, at first over rocks, and then a desert plain, about a mile from the Nile, we observed two entire, and one broken pillar, standing in the midst of the foundations of a church; at the foot of them lies a fragment of a black granite Egyptian altar-piece. The pillars are large, and composed of three stones each: they are not fluted, nor ornamented with any kind of sculpture. There are no stone remains lying about, but much brick, and huge masses of quartz piled up like a wall behind it. On the other side are some large mud buildings, with the Cuphic arch. The Nile is lined with palms, and at least twenty mud castles are visible; the common straw houses ceasing to be numerous.

A quarter of a mile farther, in the midst of a heap of large stones, is a pillar with a capital, and a sculptured fragment of stone supported by it. On the N. and S. sides of the capital is the Isis face, in not so high relief as those at Dendera, nor so low as those at Djebel el Berkel; the East and West sides have no face or hieroglyphics, but are worked. The pillar is fluted, though not deeply, and is ornamented with no sort of sculpture: its diameter is three feet ten inches, and height about twenty-six feet. The fragments of other similar columns are lying about, and one capital with the face very perfect and well executed. There are also remains of smaller pillars, of not above three feet in diameter; there is also a perfect pedestal, three feet eight inches square, covered with hieroglyphics, of sandstone, like the rest of

the temple. The whole ruin is only one hundred and twenty yards in circumference. A broken sitting statue of black granite lies near, as well as another sculptured fragment of the same material. The name of the place is Sedenza, and the island Aboudía, of above a mile in length, begins just below.

We observed the fields every where fenced by palm branches, to protect the young corn from the voracity of the antelope; a more insufficient protection, as it would seem, either in strength or height, against the bounding gazelle, can hardly be conceived.

In four miles beyond the temple (N.N.E.), we passed a village called Fakir Welad Ali. An island begins just below. In six miles we were going North again; and in a mile more N.N.E. In fourteen or fifteen miles from Doshe, we arrived at Shoofah, where we remained for the night. As our beasts, by the desertion at Soleb, were reduced to six camels, a dying horse, and an ass, for nine persons and a great deal of luggage, it is not surprising that our day's journey was not longer.

The Nubians, like the Egyptians, divide the year into three seasons of four months each; the Nile, that is, the inundation; the winter; and the summer. Their year begins, in consequence, about the middle of July, the conclusion of their summer; this last is their sickly season, agreeing nearly with the period of the plague at Cairo.

Jan. 25. The island of Say, of which I obtained an excellent view in the morning, from a hill behind the village, begins about a mile above Shoofah, and is probably eight miles long, varying in width from one to three. Much wheat is grown there, of which a part used to be annually bought by the Sheygy'a. There are some remains of antiquity there*, consisting, as we were informed, of three or four pillars, and, I believe, the probable site of a temple, which, though apparently of no great importance, we were still anxious to examine. We had been disappointed in our former attempts to cross over into the island, and were not fated to be more fortunate now. The Turkish Aga with the ferry-boat was on the opposite side of the river, of which the western branch is far from being narrow, and we could not even obtain a ramouss to pass over on.

On leaving Shoofah, we still followed the bank, in hopes that some opportunity might present itself, if in any part we should find the stream very narrow or shallow. In the mean time, so strong a tempest arose from the North, as to obscure with clouds of sand the shore and mountains opposite. Houses or inhabitants were no longer visible on the island, and on our side there was nothing but the moving Desert; the sky, otherwise clear and cloudless, assumed a yellow appearance, and the conflict between the wind and the opposing current was so violent, that

* They were mentioned and described to us by Amiro. It appears that Burckhardt had not heard of them. (p. 56.)

it would have rendered very difficult an attempt to cross by swimming. With great regret, therefore, were we obliged to turns our backs, for the second time, on this island, and again yield to circumstances, which seemed united to forbid our visit to it.

We proceeded over the sand-hills; the storm increased, and the camels bellowed and advanced with difficulty. Some of the party relieved themselves by reversing their seat on that spacious animal, and thus presenting their backs to the wind; one or two, whose beasts were less tractable, were obliged to take to their feet. We observed, however, none of those mountains of driving sand, which have been so often described or fancied; the aspect of the agitated Desert is dreary and desolate in the extreme, but not formidable.

In about nine miles from Shoofah we came to a solitary old Coptic church, situated nearly a mile from the Nile. It contained many brick arches, and at the entrance one of stone; it was covered with Arabic inscriptions of a recent date. In half a mile more is the end of the island of Arnietti, which begins just below Say; it has the appearance of being rich and covered with palms. There is presently a turn of the Nile to the eastward, and for five miles we went gradually through nearly all the points of the compass from North to S.S.E. We then turned East again, and after performing upon the whole about sixteen miles, were stopped by the approach of night.

Since the defection at Sóleb, we had no guide whatever, and during the whole of to-day saw no habitation or human being*. We chose, therefore, for our place of repose, a spot among the rocks, close by the river, and sheltered from the North by a bank fringed with acacias, which also afforded food for our animals. There was a little rough island opposite, not one hundred and fifty yards from us, with a mud fortress on it, though apparently inhabited only by wild-geese. We lighted a fire by the river-side, and made up a large mess of rice with a little portable soup and the leg of a goat, which supplied a very tolerable meal, in succession, to ourselves, our servants and the Italians, the Dongoláwy and a Cairine Arab who had joined our party, and lastly to the dog Anubis. Seeing our fire, the people on the other bank began to beat a tambour, and shouted repeatedly, to convince us that they were prepared for the attack; supposing, no doubt, that no good people would have encamped in so desolate a place; and as we were not anxious for any nocturnal visit from them, we thought it prudent to fire a pistol-shot in answer. I woke in the night, and heard the sound of the tambour still mingling with the cries of the inhabitants. The jackalls and hyænas completed the concert; they were very clamorous and very near us, and in the morning we saw their traces, interspersed with those of the gazelle, within twenty yards of our bivouac. Our beasts had strayed, many of them to some distance, in pursuit of food.

* We started one or two hares and some quails in the Desert, about half a mile from the river.

The moon rose, and the wind abated about midnight, and we slept well, and without any molestation, till day-break.

Jan. 26. A very miserable horse, which had attended rather than assisted us from Koke, fell down in the sand yesterday afternoon, and could not be raised again. We sent back after him this morning, but as it proved impossible to get him on, he was left among the shrubs near the water. If he has escaped the jaws of the hyæna, he is now probably wandering at large over the deserts of Sukkót; for, as there was no track in the place where he was left, and as the road of the traders is much farther from the Nile (in order to cut off the bend here made by it), he is not likely again to fall into the hands of man.

In seven miles (E. by N., with some little variations both ways), performed over such ground as yesterday, and always out of sight of the river, we found it running N. by E. We observed much quartz, appearing in some places as if artificially built up, much granite schist, and granite. We then followed the direction of the Nile, and in ten miles passed some old granite quarries by the road; there were some half-finished pillars still lying there. In thirteen miles we came opposite to Djebel Mama, which is only known by the inhabitants of this bank by the name of Djebel Gronga; it is of sandstone, while the rocks on the western bank are granite. Here we saw a camel and some goats, the property of an Ababde, and three young gazelles feeding with them; at our approach they retired into the Desert, slowly

and securely, as a loaded camel is seldom disposed to run races with an antelope. Their actions were extremely beautiful; when we stopped they stopped also, and gazed at us; when we moved on they did so too, and continued long in sight, quietly retreating before us*.

In fifteen or sixteen miles we passed a few mud and straw cottages, and in two more we came to the village of Dal. We sent for the Shiek, who, in answer to our demand of lodging, shewed us to a tree, surrounded by camels' dung. Certain Turkish maledictions (the only part of that language which is well understood by the natives) presently procured us a more hospitable reception; and passing over to the island of Dal, we found luxuries both of food and shelter, which made us amends for the inconveniences of yesterday.

Jan. 27. The river on the eastern side of the island of Dal is covered with castled rocks full of wild fowl; a cataract is audible from below. The inhabitants seem a lively and independent race of people; indeed these little rocky islands crowded together, with the Desert on both sides, afford such opportunities of resisting or escaping, in case of need, that it would be wonderful if the natives of them were not more attached to liberty than those who have the fortune to be born on happier soils; they are said to have frequently treated even the soldiers

* We were assured that they are sold in Alexandria for two or three dollars each, and eaten like game; the flesh is said to be dry, and of little flavour. They are generally caught when young, and kept tame.

with insolence, and, like all the islanders from Say to Wady Halfa, have a peculiar contempt for Christians. On our asking if there were any ancient buildings here, the Shiek replied, "What do we know of the works of the Idolaters? Are we not all Mussulmen here?" For we always passed for Turks in places where we did not stay long enough to be detected.

There is a small saints' tomb near here, the first we had observed for above forty miles.

In about four miles and a half we entered the Batn el Hadjar, which begins not so soon on this side as on the other.

The Italians were violent in their exclamations against the *bruttezza* of the Nile; and the effect produced on them by scenes of wild deformity was merely painful. In one of the rudest spots in the whole river I observed a boat, that had grounded there when the water was high, with its masts and rigging still entire, standing in the midst of the rocks; it bore no marks of any injury, and there was something particularly dreary, and almost magical, in its appearance there alone, and deserted by its inhabitants—a single work of art amid the desolation of nature.

We passed over some very fine masses of black granite, whose exterior preserved a remarkable freshness and brightness; though we observed some rocks, chiefly of red granite, which were ragged and crumbling away, like the stones of an old building. I heard some cries in the Desert on the left, probably those of the gazelle under the paws of her enemy. In three miles and a half more we came to the small vale of Kólbe, which is quite

uncultivated; the canal separating it from the island was passable, and we heard the voices of the people on the other side. We proceeded for about two miles more, the length of the island, and entered it at the other extremity. We found it well cultivated, and started some quails out of the young wheat.

We met here one of our old Ababde* guides, who saluted the servants on both cheeks, and seemed delighted to see us; and instantly exerted his influence to procure us a supply of provisions. We observed a Nubian receive a severe kick from a camel, and his manner of expressing his indignation was sufficiently amusing; he instantly fell on his knees, and after devoting, with a vast variety of imprecations, the sacred head of his offender, scattered in the air a quantity of sand, of which the greater part fell upon himself. I have frequently seen quarrels among the Arabs carried on in the same manner.

The Nile to the South of Kólbe runs N.N.E., it then makes a bend to the westward to embrace the island, and at the end of it again resumes its course to the eastward of North. To avoid another night in the Desert, we determined to sleep in a small green plain, about half a mile to the North of Kólbe.

We saw on all sides of us a number of those miserable mud fortresses, built to afford the wretched inhabitants a security,

* The Ababde have a bad character among travellers; and treacherous and violent acts are related to have been committed by bodies of them. As individuals, I believe them to be generally well-informed, obliging, honest, and grateful, without being at all responsible for their conduct as a mob.

which neither the strength, nor the grandeur, nor the poverty, of their black everlasting rocks could promise them. They tell us that the Bisharein, till the Pasha's expedition, used to come down on the East bank, and hide themselves in the caves till night, in parties of thirty, forty, or fifty, armed with lances and swords; they then crossed and carried off every thing that fell into their hands; till the invasion of the Mamelouks, they had also to sustain the persecutions of the Sheygy'a. The evil of which they complain most at present is the destruction of their green corn by the gazelles; and in a fruitless attempt to diminish it, I passed two or three moonlight hours with my gun under a tree, in the wheat, among the rocks. The Cataract of Kólbe, near which we had attempted to sleep in our way up, was extremely audible, as were the usual howlings of the wild beasts in the Desert.

Jan. 28. A camel lives about thirty years; the sound produced by him is the same for every sensation, and always expressive of discontent*, as if every change of situation were painful to him; the same when he is unloaded and fed, as when beaten.

There is a town eastward in the river at Kolbe, and we here entered a pass of about three miles, which again brought us down to the bank, which we followed for six or seven miles

* The camels of Cairo are larger, and not, I think, so irritable as their brethren of the South. We saw near Lausne one specimen of a much smaller breed, not two-thirds of the usual size of the dromedary; it was full grown, and a light and very beautiful animal.

more to a few houses, called Okme; a village opposite, of the same name, was noticed in our way up. The Nile has been of late smooth and uninterrupted, though not more than a hundred and fifty yards broad. There is a high chain of rocks on the other side, at some little distance from the bank, running north and south nearly. Our direction had been thus far to the westward of north; but about half a mile lower down the river turns north; and in a mile more, meeting a chain of low rocks going down to it on this side, is driven N.E.; and in another mile, being opposed by the great ridge, which has so long accompanied us on the other, is again forced northward. Every turn is occasioned by the resistance of some high and projecting rock, which frequently extends to some distance inland, and allows no passage by the Nile side; and hence it happens, that at every considerable bend of the stream the traveller is obliged to take some pass to avoid the mountain that occasions that bend.

This was the case here, and after following a beaten track for six or seven miles in a N.N.W. direction, we found the sun setting without there being any appearance of our approach to the river; we, therefore, left the road, and going eastward for about two miles, found it running N.N.E. nearly. It is difficult to say whither the other road would have led us, as the Nile long preserves its course to the eastward of north. I had the pleasure of performing the greater part of this day's journey on foot, as my camel was hungry and intractable.

All the left bank is Sukkót is covered with deep sand, which is only sprinkled at intervals over the black mountains on the right. I have already remarked that the contrary is the case in Dóngola.

We passed the night on a little rocky island, covered with shrubs, and now uninhabited, though containing a thick wall of considerable length, built down to the water's edge. The Nile is narrow, and the shores barren. The few palms that are here and there scattered on the other side are hardly to be distinguished from the dark rocks behind them.

Jan. 29. After riding four miles (E. and E.N.E.) over sand hills, when the road was frequently quite untraceable, we came to the river again, and followed it generally for five miles more; we then approached an island, above a mile long, and about a mile and a half broad, round which we rode, for two miles, east. It was full of black ducks, and apparently not inhabited. By good luck we here found a naked native, who had been on an unsuccessful search after a stray cow, and was returning to his home across the water. For three piastres he undertook to be our guide; and the high wind had now so completely concealed all tracks of feet, and there were here some passes, otherwise so difficult to be discovered and followed, that without his assistance our progress must have been extremely tedious and uncertain.

During the first mile we passed the cataract of Ambigo, now perfectly impracticable; and in about two more over

the hills we came to a plain about three miles long, and half a mile broad, with a small grove of acacias at the bottom of it. We then descended to the Nile, and followed the banks to the eastward, for one mile, to two or three houses, and a fortress called Attyre.

As it was beginning to be dark we here collected our party, and entered a very fine pass round a mountain, in a northerly direction; and after a mile and a half reached a larger village, named also Attyre. We were admitted, after some altercation, into a comfortable straw hut, where we passed the night admirably.

Jan. 30. We began by returning through a part of the pass, with which we finished our labours of yesterday. It is the finest spot in the Batn el Hadjar; the rocks are wilder, and have an unusual grandeur of contour. We rode for some distance by the side of a kind of ravine, with some trees at the bottom, the only ones we observed there, reminding us a little of the Alps.

In about four miles we came down to the Nile, running N.W.; it is quite smooth, and about two hundred yards broad, with a small island dividing the stream nearly equally. It continues for a mile more in that direction, and then again turns eastward. We soon afterwards passed a small village, and then entered the pass of Meschía, in Wady Samne; this brought us out in about a mile to the village, and in one more we reached the temple of Samne.

To Burckhardt's description of this temple I have only to

add, that the entrance faces the south, and is not, as usual, towards the river; that the diameter of the polygonal pillar is two feet six inches, and that the other four are cut square, but measure two feet four inches by one foot eight inches. The part to the northward of the standing pillars (which were never, I think, more than six,) is more rudely finished than the rest, and appears to have been constructed at a different period. In the front is a large hieroglyphical tablet, of a later date than the temple, more deeply cut than the figures, and at the expense of the feet of some of them, and the entire legs of one. The best of them are about four feet in height. 'We were pleased to observe on the wall, among numerous more modern inscriptions, the name of a fellow countryman—*Hyde, March* 3, 1819.

We never saw the Nile so narrow as in this spot; it has two passages between the rocks projecting from either shore, of which the broadest seems hardly twenty yards. On the point on the opposite side we could discern two rows of broken pillars (there being two, apparently, in the first, and four in the second, row) standing before a small ruined stone edifice. Near it are some large buildings of mud and brick.

One or two broken boats were lying on the adjacent rocks; the cordage of one of them was quite perfect and untouched, a fact strongly proving either the honesty * or the subjection of the natives.

* "It ought to be added, that the Nubians in general are free from the vice of pillage."—Burckhardt, p. 34.

In a mile and a half (N.N.W.) we came to an important cataract, where the river turns N.N.E., and in a mile and a half more, due east. Here we entered a pass, which, in another mile, brought us down to a spot by the Nile side, covered with acacias, and opposite to the northern extremity of an island, named Meli, of about two miles in length; a high mountain in it is crowned with some mud ruins.

We found a party of Gellábs encamped among the trees, one of whom was the owner of the camels that had brought us down from Dóngola. He had joined the rest of the caravan at Gourgote, whence they had set off after our departure, and having passed us on the road, had been expecting us for two or three days. During this time they had killed and consumed a crocodile, except a very small portion *, which was willingly accepted by us. The taste a little resembles that of crimped skate, but is so very much richer, that a Nubian palate and stomach seem absolutely necessary to enjoy and digest it; this with a little English beef, (preserved for a case of absolute want), and some Dochen † bread, formed the most singular and the

* "Crocodile's flesh is of a dirty white colour, not unlike young veal, with a slight fishy smell." Burckhardt, p. 284, who in the same place mentions, that a crocodile having been taken alive, and presented to the Governor of Esneh, one hundred balls were fired at it without effect, till it was thrown upon its back, and the contents of a small swivel discharged into its belly. Burckhardt does not say that he witnessed this exhibition.

† See Burckhardt, p. 22.

most savoury meal that we had made since the commencement of our expedition.

The Gellábs had twelve loaded camels, and several asses, which they rode themselves; they had also three female slaves with them, two of whom were nearly naked, and trudged on foot all the day; the other was clothed, and mounted on a camel. This enviable distinction was the consequence of her superior beauty and value. Her owner was not deterred by delicacy from inviting our attention to all her good points, and demanded for her a hundred dollars, the price, he told us, he had paid for her at Darfour. He endeavoured to give probability to this assertion by the aid of much gesticulation, and frequent mention of the name of God and the Prophet.

Jan. 31. We were assured that by a little additional exertion we might arrive at Wady Halfa this evening, and this information was received with great joy by most of our party. As to myself, I own that I looked forward with no pleasure to the conclusion of an expedition, which had afforded me many of the happiest hours in my life. There was something in being constantly, and never laboriously, employed; there was much in the novelty of the country, and the singularity of the scenes that had, from day to day, presented themselves; but there is much more in the feeling with which you tread a country yet unexplored; you no longer follow a road that has been traced out for you by more adventurous travellers; you no

longer pace in the trammels that they have imposed upon you; you are destined, perhaps, yourself, to guide the steps and direct the enthusiasm of others.

In examining a country on the banks of the Nile, the traveller finds a constant companion in that mighty stream, whose progress he is following through prosperity and through adversity; and I felt that I should part with it as with an old friend, whose society I had enjoyed, by whose liberality I had been benefited, and in whose labours I had participated.

There was yet another source of constant enjoyment in the perfect beauty of the climate during that season; in the health breathed by the cool north wind, and the cloudless serenity of the sky. There was a light in the face of heaven that I had not felt elsewhere; and a brightness in the new and numerous stars that can exist in no moister atmosphere. Inconveniencies, difficulties, and dangers occurred seldom, and passed quickly; the employment, the interest, and the gratifications were perpetual.

We began with a long pass, (N.E. by N.), which, in eight miles, brought us down to the Nile, opposite to three small islands; a shorter of only two miles (N.N.E.) succeeded; and we followed the bank for one mile more, to a fine perpendicular rock, where began another pass of about seven miles, generally over an elevated plain. Some trouble in arranging the luggage on my camel, threw me into the rear of the caravan; and as their tracks were concealed almost as soon as made

by the blowing sand, it was not till after a variety of wanderings that the goodness of my beast enabled me to overtake them. I was surprised, in searching for the road, to find so many; some, traceable for a short distance, became suddenly invisible or impassable; others appeared to lead straight into the interior of the Desert; all seemed to have been lately trodden, though we had sometimes past whole days without meeting a human being.

James and Giovanni were still missing, and Mr. Hanbury offered money to one of the Gellábs to go back in search of them; he positively refused, and they all proceeded; however, we had hardly set out to seek for them ourselves, when they came up. It appeared that Giovanni, who had never quite recovered his Dóngola fever, had been seized by a violent fit of vomiting and dysentery, owing to the keenness of the wind. The Dongoláwy, who was with us, expressed his expectation of dying by cold in the course of the night. We examined the thermometer in the evening, after sun-set, and found it at 58°.

In about four miles more, chiefly by the Nile side, the direction nearly North, we came to some acacias exactly opposite to the Shoonah, where we had dined with Mahommed Effendi, on the day of our leaving Wady Halfa. The Gellábs had already unloaded their beasts and established themselves there for the night, and it being now dark, we followed their example.

They professed never to have travelled this road before, but discovered all the windings without a moment's hesitation by

certain signs observable only by themselves; small heaps of stones laid in particular places supply to their practised eyes the want of experience. The small remainder of our rice boiled up with a few dates furnished the last scanty meal to which we were for some time likely to be condemned.

Feb. 1. The thermometer at sun-rise was at 45°. We received soon afterwards a visit from the two Agas resident on the other bank, and then mounted for the last time.

The course of the river for the first mile and a half is N.N.W nearly, till it is opposed and driven into a N.N.E. direction by a very high rock on the left bank, from the top of which is a remarkably good view of the cataracts and the whole of the Batn El Hadjar. The boundlessness of the rocky prospect constitutes its greatest, and perhaps only, grandeur. We have rarely observed in these deserts any fine groups of hills; they rise with no abruptness or irregularity, and have little variety in their outlines; there is a want of height in the rocks, of clouds on their tops, of woods and cataracts down their sides, and of ravines at their bases, and the light yellow sand which fills their chasms does not satisfy the eye that has dwelt on the virgin snow of the Alps. I hardly recollect any piece of scenery* in this country, of which the Nile does not form the noblest feature.

* I except the " Pass of the Water's Mouth," which possesses peculiarities, that I have no where else seen united.

In a mile and a half more is an old town, situated in a very desert, but not very strong, place; and in five miles we came to a large cluster of islands, of which one larger than the rest was full of sheep and goats. The distance between the extreme branches of the river must in this spot be nearly three miles. Our direction thence was about N.N.E., and an eminence a little lower down gave us an opportunity of looking back on the black islands that form the cataract, with the water struggling through them.

In about four miles more we arrived opposite to the Shoonah, whence we had originally commenced our journey. Our luggage was deposited on the bank, and the Gelláb, whose camels we had employed for so many days, requested some recompense for their labour; we had a pleasure in mortifying, by our decided refusal, one of the dealers in human flesh, of whose brutality we had ourselves seen some few proofs, and of which poor Burckhardt, had been obliged to endure so many.

In the mean time we perceived Reiss Bedoui steering his cangee across to us, and were soon receiving the salutations and congratulations of himself and crew. They were all dressed out in their best clothes, and looking admirably well for men who had not eaten meat for three months.

Strange reports respecting us had been spread and believed during our absence; some related to our valour in the battles of Korti and Dager, and the honours we received from the Pasha in consequence; that which had excited most interest was,

that in one excavation we had found seven camels' load of gold*.

Our good Ababde too had been here, and told, how we had obliged him "to leave his wife and child among strangers." However, he had found them safe on his return, and allowed that the adventure had turned out for his good.

One evening an Aga had arrived from the army, bearing the ears of the Sheygy'a, and, in spite of remonstrances, had selected our boat as most worthy to convey his honourable person and charge to Cairo; however, Bedoui set sail in the night, and lay hid till the storm was passed.

At last, that faithful captain, beginning to be seriously anxious about our safety, had consulted a necromancer respecting us; he received for answer, "that we were only detained by the illness of one of our party, and should shortly be here." The necromancer's predictions were happily fulfilled; we found letters with good news from below; and as our sailors were repeatedly assuring us that "the day of our return was a *white day* for them," it would be ungrateful not to confess, that it was a white day for us also.

* Another rumour, which added two pieces of cannon to our discoveries, had a singular origin. Amiro once mentioned to us, that among the ruins at Say he had found a small cannon, probably brought up there by the troops of Sultan Selym, when they conquered that country.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

MAP OF THE NILE.

In the application of the names of the ancient cities to the present remains found in Ethiopia, it appears to me that the authority of Ptolemy ought to be followed in preference to that of Pliny; because, being a native of Egypt, he is more likely to have been well informed on the geography of the Nile; because those subjects formed more exclusively the object of his attention; and because his exposition of the country is much more elaborate, and has proved, wherever the truth can be ascertained, to be very far from inaccurate.

The S.W. bend of the Nile is mentioned by Eratosthenes, as quoted by Strabo, who makes the turn begin two thousand seven hundred stadia to North of Meroe, and continue for three thousand seven hundred stadia till it returns to the lat. of Meroe; it then resumes its course a little to E. of North for five thousand three hundred stadia to the Great Cataract; the distances are exaggerated, but their proportions are nearly correct.

Ptolemy places Meroe in 16°·26′ N. lat., and Napata, which he supposed to be situated on the *αγκων*, in 20° 15′. We then find three or four cities placed in 18° along the banks of the river, thus fixing the lat. of the westerly course taken by the Nile, after it has ceased to flow S.W., and before it recovers its natural direction to the northward; he places the great Cataract in 22° 30′. The errors in any of these latitudes will hardly

prove to be much more than half a degree; in places of inferior importance his mistakes may naturally have been greater.

Ptolemy distinguishes between the minor and the major, or, as we call them, the first and second cataract, and marks the situation of the cities as they are, below, between, or above them. Again, he mentions, in every instance, the side of the river on which they stand, and the longitude, as well as latitude, of each; whereas Pliny, in his account of Petronius's expedition (a much less exact and detailed account than that of Strabo), merely mentions the order in which a number of towns, the only ones he had found in the country, were taken by that general. I cannot therefore bring myself to believe that Ibrim, situated from eighty to one hundred miles *below* the major cataract, is (as marked in the map of Nubia prefixed to Burckhardt's Travels, and admitted by Niebuhr in his Inscript. Nub.) the Primis (in Strabo Premnis), which Ptolemy places three degrees of latitude *above* it. Ibrim is the common contraction of Ibrahim, given probably to the fortress from some Chief, who had repaired or defended it; the coincidence of two letters is not a sufficient reason for disregarding the authority of Ptolemy, in a country where places are continually changing their names, and where there exists at this moment a city and kingdom of Mérawe, which, though pronounced accurately in the same manner, is certainly not Meroe*.

* Of all the names recorded by Bion and Juba, only two or three are noted by Pliny and Ptolemy. The exploratores of Nero found, from Hierosycaminon to Napata, not one of the cities taken by Petronius; and of the names mentioned by Macrizi, (Burckhardt, p. 493.) in his account of this country, I believe only that of Say to remain now, after an interval of not more than four hundred years. There are now three villages in Mahass (one ruined near Koke) called Hadji Omar, from a native Chief, and which, like Momfoch in Dóngola, have taken that name within the last twenty years.

Silco, the rûler of the Noubæ and all the Ethiopians (see Niebuhr's Inscript. Nub.), boasts to have, in one attack, reduced the country of the Blemyes from Primis to Talmis. Now the distançe from Ibrim to Kalabshe is not more than eighty miles of rocky and thinly-peopled ground. May we not also conclude from this that Primis was the frontier town (on the South) of the Blemyes? and is it likely that the country of a people formidable to the Roman power should have had such narrow limits as Syene and Ibrim? The Noubæ, we are told by Strabo, lived on the left bank, from Meroe to the Ancones, of the Nile, or the country of the Sheygy'a. May not the Blemyes have occupied the countries from there to Syene, including Dóngola, which may have been their southernmost city?

If Ibrim be not Primis, Ebsambal (fifty or sixty miles below the cataract) has still less claim to be Pthur, which was 1° 10′ above it. Stadisis is the place last mentioned by Pliny, and ought therefore to be sought near Napata, (which, according to Strabo's more accurate account, was the limit of Petronius's conquests,) and therefore not much less than eight hundred and seventy* miles from Syene; it is conjectured to be Aamara, which is little more than one-third of that distance. Ptolemy gives us little help here; he mentions, indeed, a place called Tasitia, but places it only half a degree above the great cataract—a situation agreeing well with the *precipitation* of the Nile, said by Pliny to exist there, though ill with his "quo dicemus ordine." I am inclined, however, to believe the two places to be the same from the vicinity of Stadisis (in Pliny's arrangement) to Atteva, which is, no doubt, the Αυτοβα of Ptolemy, a city only 24′ to the N. of Tasitia. If Stadisis (where is the only cataract mentioned by Pliny) be not, as seems probable, near the *great* one, we must of necessity sup-

* "Longissimi à Syene progressus 870. M. P."

pose it to be the Ταθις (Tadis) which Ptolemy places on the West bank, a little below Meroe; and it may then, without much inconsistency, be situated among the rocks of the Sheygy'a.

In the map then prefixed to this work, the authority of Ptolemy has been principally attended to, as being, notwithstanding his errors in latitude, the most accurate of the ancient geographers, though it is impossible, on account of those errors, to follow even him too closely.

The position of Tasitia was so nearly that of Samne, that I have little hesitation in supposing them to be the same place; there is, besides, a very considerable cataract at Samne. Pnoups was only 20′ N. of the great cataract, and Aamara is more than a degree; but as the mention of Pnoups, or Nupsis, by both Bion and Juba, proves it to have been a considerable place, it is more likely to have left important remains than Gerethis, whose site, according to Ptolemy, was more nearly that of Aamara, but whose name is not mentioned by other geographers; I have, therefore, though with diffidence, fixed Pnoups at the ruins of Aamara.

The situations of Boòn (Βοων), and this geographer's Autoba, or Atteva, were not very distant from those of the small temples of Sedenza and Doshe; and Phthur, or Φθουρι, another important city of Ethiopia, I have no doubt was Soleb, though placed by Ptolemy about 20′ nearer to the great cataract.

A similar difference the other way will not prevent us from supposing the temple at Sasef, to be the remains of Aboccis, (Pliny) or Abouncis.

Nero's Exploratores place the island Gaugodes*, between Tergedus

* "Insulam Gaugoden esse in medio eo tractu; inde primum visas aves psittacos, et ab altera (quæ vocatur Artigula), animal sphingion—à Tergedo cynocephalos." We saw no such animals, which does not at all prove that they may not have existed

and Napata, distant respectively four hundred and thirty-one and five hundred and eleven miles from Syene. Now, the island of Argo, following the course of the river, is at least five hundred miles from Assouan; Juba mentions a "Gora in Insula," which is, by transposition, Argo.

Ptolemy's Primis * is situated on the same bank, and about a degree north of Old Dóngola, a place as well adapted for defence as Ibrim, and which is proved, by the remains there found by us, to have been a city of as great antiquity. Strabo † mentions, that to get to Primnis, Petronius marched through the sands, where the army of Cambyses had been overwhelmed by a whirlwind; in this particular he is at variance with Herodotus, and evidently confuses the fate of the expedition sent by Cambyses to the temple of Hammon, with the αλληλοφαγίη of that which he commanded himself. But if it be true, that the desert which proved any how fatal to the Persians, must be traversed to reach Primis, it is clear that the site of that city must be sought much farther from Syene than has hitherto been supposed. Herodotus is so indefinite as to the position of the Macrobii ‡, that it is impossible to collect from his account the exact place where the progress of the army was arrested; it may have been in the rocks of the Batn el Hadjar, or of Dar Mahass §.

there formerly. It appears from Herodotus, (ii. 71.) that, in his time, hippopotami were common in Egypt, where the accidental appearance of one is now almost a prodigy.

* Πρίμις μικρὰ (the other Primis was near Meroe) was 3° above the great Cataract, and Dóngola is 4° nearly. There are no remains of any age of antiquity on the right bank, between Aamára and Dóngola.

† Lib. 17, p. 817, D., &c. &c.

‡ Bruce (vol. 2. B. 2. 5.) supposes the Macrobii to be the "western Shangalla, situated below Guba and Nuba, the gold country, on both sides of the Nile, north of Fazuclo."

§ The story mentioned by Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and, I think, some other

The identity of Berkel and Napata has been discussed elsewhere; if it has been proved, Nacis is the city whose situation approached nearest to that of Sannab.

Of the *general* map of the Nile given with this Book, all to the north of Wady Halfa, and to the south of Berber, is taken from the map prefixed, by Colonel Leake, to Burckhardt's Travels. In delineating the country from Wady Halfa to Karsinger, I have followed my own map of that country, and from Karsinger to Berber, the course of the river is laid down according to information kindly communicated to Mr. Hanbury and myself by the Chevalier Frediani (Amiro), in a letter from Berber. The greatest confirmation of the general accuracy of this part, is the authority of the ancient geographers. It may be mentioned in addition, that the river that had been visited by our Ababde guide, (which was no doubt the Nile), was described by him as being five days to the east of Argo; and that the well of Nabeh (passed by Burckhardt* on his road from Daraou to Berber) is situated three long days and a half from the Nile. Both of these distances agree tolerably well with the delineation I have given of that part of the river.

The Chevalier also mentioned that he had found no remains of anti-

authors, that Cambyses reached Meroe, and built and named the city after his wife, or mother, is entirely unconfirmed by Herodotus; and, I think, as inconsistent with his account of that expedition, as it is with the account of that of Petronius, as given by Strabo himself.

* P. 189. "A third route was pointed out to me from Nabeh, leading in a S.S.W. direction to the Nile, in three long days and a half; but that part of the Nile is inhabited by the Arabs of Mograt, who were the enemies of our caravan," *&c.*

quity between El Bellál and Berber, except the ruins of some Christian churches.

The position of the ruins of Meroe is given according to the observations of Bruce made at Shendy; the latitude is probably nearly correct; but I suspect from the information of Ptolemy, as agreeing with some received by Mr. Hanbury and myself in that country, that a more accurate observation of longitude would place them, *at least*, 1° more to the westward.

The latitude of Wady Halfa is 21° 52′ 52″, as observed by Mr. Cooper, a young Irishman, of great talents, who was travelling in Egypt at the same time with myself, and whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of forming there.

APPENDIX II.

PONCET left Siout October 2, 1698, and on the 6th arrived at Helaöue, or the " Place of Softness," where he rested four days, and in two more arrived at Chabbé*, a country full of alum; and in three more at Selyma in the Desert, where is a fine spring of water; and on the 26th at Machou †, grosse bourgade, sur le bord oriental ‡ du Nil. Ce fleuve forme en cet endroit deux grandes îles remplies de palmiers, de séné et de coloquinte. Machou, le seul lieu habité depuis Helaöué, est dans la province de Tungi §; il appartient au Roi de Sennaar et fait le commencement du pays des Barauras que nous appelons Barbarins. L'Erbab ou le gouverneur de cette Province, ayant appris que l'Empereur d'Ethiopie || nous appeloit a sa cour, nous invita à venir à Argos où il demeure. Cette bourgade est vis-à-vis de Machou de l'autre côté du Nil; nous y allâmes en bateau—they reposed there two days: Le grand Douanier, qui

* The Editor, in a note, places Chabbé on the frontiers of Dóngola; it is probably the place marked Sheb in Colonel Leake's map, nearly in the latitude of Philœ, or nearly 4° to the N. of the present frontier.

† Moshi.

‡ A mistake, of course, for the west bank; he afterwards mentions that he crossed the river to get to Dóngola, which is on the east.

§ Read Fungi, or Funnye, the name of one of the branches of the royal family of Dóngola.

|| By Ethiopia he means Abyssinia; Ethiopia, in fact, commences at the first Cataract.

est fils du Roi de Dóngola demeure aussi à Argos; ce Prince ne paroit jamais en public que monté sur un cheval couvert de deux cens clochettes de bronze, qui font un grand bruit, et qu' accompagné de vingt mousquetaires et de deux cens soldats armés de lances et de sabres; his palace was of sun-burnt bricks, the walls being flanked with towers without embrasures. After staying eight days at Machou, they left it on the 4th of November, and arrived at Dóngola on the 13th*, crossing† the river in a large boat kept by the King for the convenience of his subjects. Tout le pays que nous trouvâmes dans notre route jusqu'à cette ville et même jusqu'à celle de Sennaar est un pays très agréable. Mais il n' y a qu' environ une lieu de langeur; ce ne sont audelà que des déserts affreux. Le Nil passe au milieu de cette délicieuse plaine.

Les bords en sont hauts et élevés, ainsi ce n'est point l'inondation‡ de ce fleuve qui cause, comme en Egypte, la fertilité de cette campagne, mais l'industrie et le travail des habitans. Comme il ne pleut que très rarement en ce pays là, ils ont soin d' élever par le moyens de certaines roues que des bœufs font tourner, une quantité prodigieuse d'eau qu' ils con-

* The distance from Moshi to Old Dóngola is from eighty-five to ninety miles.

† It appears then that they travelled on the *west* bank from Moshi till they arrived opposite to Dóngola, and then crossed the river; thus they traversed a rich and fertile country. On the other bank they would have found only sands and barrenness.

‡ That is not true; many parts of Dóngola are as regularly inundated as the plains of Egypt; were it not so we should not have found such tracts of luxuriant ground covered with vegetation, which have not, perhaps, been cultivated for centuries. As our own observation, however, is at entire variance with that of a traveller, many of whose descriptions are very correct, I shall confirm it by the authority of Buckhardt, p. 66.—" South of Hannek the immense plains of Dongola commence; I was credibly informed that there are no rocks in this district, which, during the period of the inundation, presents a watery surface of from twelve to fifteen miles in breadth."

duisent par le milieu des terres dans des réservoirs destinés a les recevoir ; d'où ils les tirent en suite quand ils en ont besoin pour arroser leur terres qui seraient stériles et incultes sans ce secours.

On ne se sert point d'argent en ce pays là—tout s'y fait par échange comme dans les premiers temps, *&c.*, on ne mange que du pain de Dora, qui est un petit grain ronde, dont on se sert aussi pour faire une espèce de bièrre épaisse et d'un très mauvais goût ; comme elle ne se conserve pas, on est obligé d'en faire presque à toute heure. Un homme qui a du pain de Dora, et une calebasse pleine de cette désagréable liqueur, dont ils boivent jusqu'à s'enivrer, se croit heureux et en état de faire bonne chère. Avec une nourriture si légere ces gens là se portent bien et sont plus robustes et plus forts que les Européans *.

Leurs maisons sont de terre, basses, et couvertes de cannes de Dora ; mais leurs chevaux sont parfaitement beaux et ils sont habiles à les dresser au manège. Leurs selles ont des appuis bien haut ; ce que les fatigue beaucoup. Les personnes de qualité ont la tête nue, et les cheveux tressés assez proprement. Tout leur habit consiste dans une espèce de veste assez mal propre et sans manches et leur chaussure dans une simple semelle qu'ils attachent avec des courroies. Les gens du commun s'enveloppent d'une pièce de toile † qu'ils mettent autour de leur corps en cent manières différentes. Les enfans sont presque nus. Les hommes ont tous une lance qu'ils portent partout—le fer en est crochu—il y ena de fort propres ; ceux qui ont

* This is not now true of the Nubians of Dongóla, though perfectly so of the Arabs above.

† These cloaks are still worn by those of the natives, who can afford any clothing, and generally in the manner represented in the frontispiece; they are of cotton, and manufactured in the country.

des épées les portent pendues au bras gauche. He then speaks of the blasphemies, vulgarity, and debaucheries of the natives, and mentions the tears that came into the eyes of his companion Père de Brevedent, on reflecting that this had long been a Christian country, lost to religion from the want of a person sufficiently zealous to devote himself to the instruction of that abandoned nation—Nous trovâmes encore sur notre route quantité d'hermitages et d'églises à demi ruinés.

He then mentions that the country had, two years before, been ravaged by the plague, which had made great havoc in Upper Egypt and the country of the Barbarins—de sorte que nous trouvâmes plusieurs villes et un grand nombre de villages sans habitans, et de grandes campagnes autrefois très-fertiles tout à fait incultes et entièrement abandonnées.

Presently follows his description of the city—La ville de Dóngola est située au bord oriental du Nil, sur le penchant d' une colline sèche et sabloneuse; les maisons sont très mal-bâties, et les rues à moitié désertes, et remplies de monceaux de sable que les ravines y entraînent de la montagne. Le château est au centre de la ville; il est grand et spacieux, mais les fortifications sont peu de chose. Il tient dans le respect les Arabes qui occupent la campagne, où ils font pâitre librement leurs troupeaux, en payant un léger tribu au Mek ou Roi de Dóngola (Le Mek ou Malek de Dóngola s'apelle Achmet—*Note.*) They dined often with that prince, though at a separate table; his dress was a long vest of green velvet reaching to the ground. La garde est nombreuse, ceux qui sont près de sa personne portent une longue épée devant eux dans le fourreau; les gardes du dehors ont des demipiques; he visited them often, and invited them to remain at his court. Son royaume est héréditaire; mais il paye tribut au Roi de Sennaar.

They left Dóngola on the 6th of January, 1693, and in four days entered the kingdom of Sennaar, and on the 13th arrived at Korti*, grosse bourgade sur le Nil. Comme les peuples qui sont audessus de Korti, le long du Nil, se sont revoltés contre le Roi de Sennaar, et qu'ils pillent les caravanes quand elles passent sur leur terres, on est oblige de s'éloigner des bords de ce fleuve, et de prendre sa route entre l' Ouest † et le Midi et d'entrer dans le grand désert de Bihouda, qu'ou ne peut traverser qu'en cinq jours, quelque diligence que l'on fasse. Ce désert n'est pas si affreux que ceux de la Lybie où l'on ne voit que du sable; on trouve de temps-en-temps en celuici des herbes et des arbres; après l'avoir passé nous revînmes sur le bord du Nil à Derriera grosse bourgade où nous demeurâmes deux jours. This country abounds in provisions, and is called Bellad Allah ‡, or the Country of God. From there their direction was westerly, and after some days' march they found the Nile at a place called Guerry, where there was a quarantine on caravans from Egypt, for fear of the small-pox; here they passed the river on the 1st of February, and slept at a stone village called Alfaa. They then marched N.E., pour eviter les grands détours que fait le Nil, passed the villages of Alfou, Cotrau, and Camin, and traversed a large island not marked in the maps; and then passing through a number of charming forests, pleins de petits perroquets verts, d'une espèce de gelinottes et d' un grand nombre d' autres oiseaux qu'on ne connaît point en Europe; and many fertile and well cultivated plains, nous découvrîmes la ville de Sennaar, dont la situation nous parut enchantée.

* Thus, on the eighth day from leaving Dóngola, they arrived at Korti. It is properly a journey of three days, following the Nile, and about fifty-eight miles.

† This is again a mistake, for l'Est. Shendy bears nearly E.S.E. from Korti.

‡ There is some contradiction here, between the accounts of Poncet and Bruce. Vol. 1. p. 380, *&c.*

APPENDIX III.

THE country above the second cataract has probably been in no age so depopulated as in the present. The ancient Ethiopian empire, of which Dóngola must have formed a very flourishing portion, was powerful and celebrated; though, from the facility with which the second Ptolemy seems to have penetrated to Axum, it must in his days have been greatly reduced in consequence. The exploratores of Nero describe themselves to have traversed only solitudes, though they enumerate more towns of importance than are to be now found in the same country. These solitudes, however, were not created (according to Pliny) by Petronius, but the consequence of frequent wars with Egypt; which seem to have been afterwards renewed with such success, that it was not beneath the dignity of the Romans to secure tranquillity to their province by exciting civil dissensions among the Ethiopians, and hiring the Noubæ to invade the territories of their more constant and active enemy, the Blemyes. (Vide Niebuhrii Inscriptiones Nubienses.)

Christianity, whose usual effect is increase of population, seems to have been introduced by the missionaries of Theodora in the beginning of the sixth century; (Gibbon, ch. xlvii.) and about 737, A.D. a Coptic Patriarch boasted that the Kings of Nubia and Ethiopia (here meaning Abyssinia) could bring into the field one hundred thousand horse and as many camels. The Nubians, according to the same author, embraced the Mahometan

faith in the twelfth century. It appears, however, from the information collected by. Burckhardt, (App. III.) that Salamoum, King of Dóngola, though less powerful than the Sultan of Egypt, was yet a considerable and a Christian Prince at the end of the thirteenth century; the church of Ysous was still the first church of Dóngola. Ibn Batouta, who travelled about 1330, asserts, that in the country of Nouba (Burckt. p. 537.) the people were still Christians, but that the King of Dóngola, then called Ibn Kenz Eddyn, had turned Moslem in the time of El Malek el Naszer (of Egypt). After that we hear nothing more of the Christianity of the Noubas; they probably soon followed the example of their Prince, and embraced the faith to which they were called by their fears or their loyalty.

No immediate affliction was the consequence of this apostacy; in the time of Macrizi (who flourished in the beginning of the fifteenth century) grapes and olives were still growing in the country, and in the district of Bakou, or The Wonder, where the Nile runs west, there were cities touching each other, consisting of fine buildings. The interval between this period and the arrival of Poncet in the country, at the end of 1698, was fatal, from whatever cause, to its wealth and populousness. The French missionary found many villages without inhabitants, and many plains, once fertile, uncultivated and abandoned; even the streets of the capital were half deserted and filled with sand. He attributes this desolation, in part, to the ravages of the plague, which had raged there two years before. Yet even then the King of Dóngola wore a vest of green velvet, and was attended by numerous guards; so that in the interval of one hundred and twenty-two years between Poncet's travels and our own, more and disastrous changes must have taken place in that kingdom; these last are, no doubt, to be charged to the arms of

the Sheygy'a, who, even in the time of Poncet, were already independent of the King of Sennaar. Their custom of carrying away with them the inhabitants of a conquered country, will account for the depopulation that they have every where introduced.

These details only enable us to ascertain that the old churches, of which we observed many in ruins, were erected from the beginning of the sixth to the middle of the fourteenth century; and, I suppose, the burial places, which we generally observed in the neighbourhood of the churches, to be those of the Christian inhabitants. Most of the churches were entirely of brick; the mixture of mud in the construction of the saints' tombs, and their greater state of perfection, proves them to be of a later age; and I can easily believe them to have been all Mahometan, and, therefore, erected during the last four centuries. Of the old towns and castles, those that are chiefly of brick may have been the work of the Christians, and those of mud are either of a later date, or (like the castles near Burgade) much more ancient. It is difficult, however, on such slight data, to decide with certainty, and this is of less importance, as, though many of these old buildings create, in the traveller who is examining them, a peculiar kind of interest, there is no one in the whole country that can ever have possessed the slightest claims to beauty or architectural merit. It was painful to be constantly occupied in noticing such productions, while the ruins of Cyrene were yet undescribed.

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